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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Marchioneſs of Pompadour.

WRITTEN BY HERSELF.

Wherein are Diſplayed

The Motives of the Wars, Treaties of Peace, Embaſſies, and Negotiations, in the ſeveral Courts of Europe:

The Cabals and Intrigues of Courtiers; the Characters of Generals, and Miniſters of State, with the Cauſes of their Riſe and Fall; and, in general, the moſt remarkable Occurrences at the Court of France, during the laſt twenty Years of the Reign of Lewis XV.

Tranſlated from the French.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
Printed for P. VAILLANT, in the Strand; and W. JOHNSTON, in Ludgate-Street.
MDCCLXVI.

THE

EDITOR's PREFACE.

THE following work muſt be acknowledged highly intereſting to theſe times; and to poſterity will be ſtill more ſo. Theſe are not the memoirs of a mere woman of pleaſure, who has ſpent her life in a voluptuous court, but the hiſtory of a reign remarkable for revolutions, wars, intrigues,

alliances, negotiations; the very blunders of which are not beneath the regard of politicians, as having greatly contributed to give a new turn to the affairs of Europe.

The Lady who drew the picture was known to be an admirable colourist.

They who were personally acquainted with Mademoiselle Poisson, before and since her marriage with M. le Normand, know her to have been possessed of a great deal of that wit, which, with proper culture, improves into genius.

The King called her to court at a tempestuous season of life, when the passions reign uncontrouled,

and

and by corrupting the heart, enlarge the underſtanding.

They who are near the perſons of Kings, for the moſt part, ſurpaſs the common run of mankind, both in natural and acquired talents; for ambition is ever attended with a ſort of capacity to compaſs its ends; and all courtiers are ambitious.

No ſooner does the Sovereign take a miſtreſs, than the courtiers flock about her. Their firſt concern is to give her her cue; for as they intend to avail themſelves of her intereſt with the King, ſhe muſt be made acquainted with a multitude of things: ſhe may be ſaid to receive her intelligence from the firſt

hand, and to draw her knowledge at the fountain head.

Lewis XV. intruſted the Marchioneſs de Pompadour with the greateſt concerns of the nation; ſo that if ſhe had been without thoſe abilities which diſtinguiſhed her at Paris, ſhe muſt ſtill have improved in the ſchool of Verſailles.

Her talents did not clear her in the public eye; never was a favourite more outrageouſly pelted with pamphlets, or expoſed to more clamorous invectives. Of this her Memoirs are a full demonſtration; her enemies charged her with many very odious vices, without ſo much as allowing her one good quality.

The

The grand ſubject of murmur was the bad ſtate of the finances, which they attributed to her amours with the King.

They who brand the Marchioneſs with having run Lewis XV. into vaſt expences, ſeem to have forgot thoſe which his predeceſſor's miſtreſſes had brought on the ſtate.

Madame de la Valiere, even before ſhe was declared miſtreſs to Lewis XIV. induced him to give entertainments, which coſt the nation more than ever Madame de Pompadour's fortune amounted to.

Madame de Monteſpan put the ſame Prince to very enormous expences; ſhe appeared always with

the pomp and parade of a Queen, even to the having guards to attend her.

Scarron's widow carried her pride and oſtentation ſtill further: ſhe drew the King in to marry her, and this miſtreſs came to be queen, an elevation which will be an eternal blot on the Prince's memory.

This clandeſtine commerce gave riſe to an infamous practice at court, with which Madame de Pompadour cannot be charged. All theſe concubines having children, to gratify their vanity, they muſt be legitimated; and, afterwards, they found means to marry theſe ſons, or daughters, of proſtitution, to the branches

branches of the royal blood; a flagrant debaſement of the houſe which were in kin to the crown: for though a Sovereign can legitimate a baſtard, to efface the ſtain of baſtardy is beyond his power. The conſequence was, that the deſcendants of that clandeſtine iſſue aſpired to the throne; and, through the King's ſcandalous amours, that luſtre which is due only to virtue, fell to the portion of vice.

It was given out in France, and over all Europe, that Madame de Pompadour was immenſely rich: but nothing of this appeared at her death, except her magnificent moveables, and theſe were rather the con-

conſequences of her rank at court, than the effects of her vanity. This ſplendor his Majeſty partook of, as viſiting her every day.

The public is generally an unfair judge of thoſe who hold a conſiderable ſtation at court, deciding from vague reports, which are often the forgeries of ill-grounded prejudice. Madame de Pompadour has been charged with inſatiable avarice. Had this been the caſe, ſhe might have indulged herſelf at will: ſhe was at the ſpring-head of opulence; the King never refuſed her any thing; ſo that ſhe might have amaſſed any money; which ſhe did not. There are now exiſting, in France, fifty wretches

wretches of financiers, each of a fortune far exceeding her's.

It was alſo ſaid, that the beſt thing which could happen to France, was to be rid of this rapacious favourite. Well; ſhe is no more; and what is France the better for it? Has her death been followed by one of thoſe ſudden revolutions in the government, which uſher in a better form of adminiſtration? Have they who looked on this Lady as an unſurmountable obſtacle to France's greatneſs, propoſed any better means for raiſing it from its preſent low ſtate? Is there more order in the government? are the finances improved? is there

more

more method and oeconomy? No, affairs are ſtill in the ſame bad way; the lethargy continues as profound as ever. The miniſtry, which before Madame de Pompadour's death was faſt aſleep, is not yet awake. Every thing remains in *ſtatu quo*. Some European governments have no regular motion; they advance either too faſt, or too ſlow; their ſteps are either precipitate, or ſluggiſh.

In this favourite's time, there was too much ſhifting and changing in the miniſtry; now ſhe is gone, there is none at all, &c. &c.

I am very far from intending a panegyric on Madame de Pompadour.

dour. Faults ſhe had, which poſterity will never forgive. All the calamities of France were imputed to her, and ſhe ſhould have reſigned in compliance to the public: a nation is to be reſpected even in its prejudices. With any tolerable ſhare of patriotiſm, Madame de Pompadour would have quitted the court, and thus approved herſelf deſerving of the favour for which ſhe was execrated; but her ſoul was not capable of ſuch an act of magnanimity: ſhe knew nothing of that philoſophy which, inſpiring a contempt of external grandeur, endears the ſubject to the Prince, and exalts him above the throne.

There

There is great appearance that this Lady intended to reviſe both her Memoirs and her will, and that death prevented her: ſhe uſed to write, by ſtarts, detached eſſays, without any coherence; and theſe on ſeparate bits of paper. Theſe were very numerous and diffuſe, as generally are the materials intended to form a book, if ſhe really had any ſuch deſign.

We were obliged to throw by on all ſides, and clear our way through an ocean of writings, a long and tireſome buſineſs.

It is far from being improbable, that Madame de Pompadour got ſome

ſome ſtateſman, well verſed in ſuch matters, to aſſiſt her in compiling this book: however that be, we give it as it ſtands in her original manuſcript.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

Marchioneſs of Pompadour.

THE following narrrative is not confined to the particular hiſtory of my life. My deſign is more extenſive: I ſhall endeavour to give a true repreſentation of the court of France under the reign of Lewis XV. The private memoirs of a King's miſtreſs are in themſelves of ſmall import; but to know the character of the Prince who raiſes her to favour; to be let into the intrigues of his reign, the

genius of the courtiers, the practices of the miniſters, the views of the great, the projects of the ambitious; in a word, into the ſecret ſprings of politics, is not a matter of indifference.

It is very ſeldom that the public judges rightly of what paſſes in the cabinet: they hear that the King orders armies to take the field; that he wins or loſes battles; and on theſe occurrences they argue according to their particular prejudices.

Hiſtory does not come nearer the mark; the generality of annaliſts being only the echoes of the public miſtakes.

Theſe papers I do not intend to publiſh in my life-time; but ſhould they appear after my death, poſterity will ſee in them a faithful draught of the ſeveral parts of the adminiſtration, which were acted, in ſome meaſure, under my eye. Had I never lived at Verſailles, the events of our times might have been an inexplicable riddle to poſterity; ſo complicated

plicated are the incidents, and in many particulars ſo contradictory, that, without a key, there is no decyphering them.

Miniſters and other place-men are not always acquainted with the means, which they themſelves make uſe of for attaining certain ends. A plenipotentiary very well knows that he ſigns a treaty of peace, but he is ignorant of the King's motives for putting an end to the war.

Every politician ſtrikes out a ſyſtem in his own ſagacious brain; the ſpeculatiſts have often fathered on France what ſhe never dreamed of; and many refined ſchemes have been attributed to her miniſters, which never made part of their plan.

It is not long ſince a miniſter of a certain court ſaid to me at Verſailles, That the two laſt German wars, which coſt France ſo much blood, and three hundred millions of livres, was the greateſt ſtroke of

policy which the age afforded; as this court had thereby inſenſibly, and unknown to the reſt of Europe, reduced the power of the Queen of Hungary: for, added he, if, on the demiſe of Charles VI. this crown had openly bent all its forces againſt the houſe of Auſtria, a general alliance would have oppoſed it; whereas it has weakened that houſe by a ſeries of little battles and repeated loſſes, &c. &c.

The inſerting ſuch an anecdote in the annals of our age would be ſufficient to disfigure the whole hiſtory. The truth is, that they who were at the head of the French affairs, during theſe two wars, had no manner of genius.

All details not relative to the ſtate I ſhall carefully omit, as rather writing the age of Lewis XV. than the hiſtory of my private life. The tranſactions of a King's favourite concern only the reign of that Prince; but truth is of perpetual concern.

I hope

I hope the public does not expect from me a circumſtantial journal of Lewis XV's gallantries: the King had many tranſitory amours during my reſidence at Verſailles; but none of his miſtreſſes were admitted into the public affairs. The reign of the far greater part began and ended in the Prince's bed. Theſe foibles, ſo cloſely connected with human nature, belong rather to a King's private life, than to the public hiſtory of a Monarch: I may ſometimes mention them, but it will only be by the way. I ſhall likewiſe be ſilent in regard to my family. The particular favour with which I have been honoured by Lewis XV. has placed my origin in broad day-light. A Monarch in raiſing a woman to the ſummit of grandeur, of courſe lays open the blemiſhes of her birth. The annals of the univerſe have been overlooked, to make a ſingular caſe of what has been almoſt a general practice in the world.

The Roman Emperors often raiſed to favour and eminence women of more obſcure birth than mine: but, without going ſo far backward, the hiſtory of our own Kings abounds with ſuch inſtances. Though the widow of Scarron the poet roſe a ſtep higher than I, ſhe was not born to ſuch exaltation. It is true her father was a gentleman; but all women, not born Princeſſes, are at a like diſtance from the throne.

A multitude of injurious reports have been propagated concerning my parents. A wretched anonymous writer has gone even farther, by publiſhing a ſcandalous book with the title of the hiſtory of my life. The Count D'Affry wrote to me from Holland, that this production was of the growth of Great-Britain. The Engliſh ſeem to make it their particular buſineſs to throw dirt at perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank at the court of France: that government is ſaid to claim ſuch a pri-

a privilege, in order to keep up the hatred between the two nations.

Though my birth had nothing great in it, my education was not neglected. I was taught dancing, muſic, and the rules of elocution, by excellent maſters; and thoſe little talents have proved of the higheſt uſe to me. I alſo read a great deal, and a favourite writer of mine was one Madame de Villedieu. Her picture of the Roman empire entertained me exceedingly. I even felt a very lively joy in obſerving that the greateſt revolutions in the world have been owing to love.

After beſtowing on me all the accompliſhments which advantageouſly diſtinguiſh a young perſon of my ſex, I was married to one whom I did not love; and a misfortune ſtill greater was, that he loved me. This I call a misfortune, and indeed I know not a greater on earth; for a woman not beloved by a man, whom ſhe likewiſe has married without any af-

fection, at leaſt comforts herſelf in his indifference.

During the firſt years of my marriage, the King's gallantries were much talked of at Paris: his fleeting amours opened a field for all women, who had beauty enough to put in for his heart.

The poſt of miſtreſs to Lewis XV. was often vacant. At Verſailles all the paſſions had an appearance of debauchery. In that airy region love was ſoon exhauſted, as conſiſting wholly in fruition. Nothing of delicacy was to be ſeen at court; the whole ſcene of ſenſibility was in the Prince's bed. This Monarch often laid down with a heart full of love, and the next morning roſe with as much indifference.

This account made me ſhudder; for I own I had then formed a deſign of winning the heart of that Prince. I was afraid that he was ſo uſed to change, as to be paſt all conſtancy.

I even

I even, then, bluſhed at the thought of giving myſelf up to an inclination of no farther conſequence than a momentary gratification of the ſenſes; but was fixed on my deſign.

I had often ſeen the King at Verſailles, without being perceived by him; our looks had never met; my eyes had a great deal to ſay, but had no opportunity of explaining my deſires. At length I had an interview with the Monarch, and, for the firſt time, talked with him in private. There is no expreſſing what paſſed in me at this firſt converſation; fear, hope, and admiration, ſucceſſively agitated my ſoul. The King ſoon diſpelled my confuſion; for Lewis XV. is certainly the moſt affable Prince in his court, if not in the whole world. In private diſcourſe his rank lays no reſtraint, and all ideas of the throne are ſuſpended; an air of candour and goodneſs diffuſes itſelf through every part of his behaviour; in ſhort, he can

forget that he is a King, to be the more a gentleman.

Our converſation was to me all charming: I pleaſed and was pleaſed. The King has ſince owned to me, that he loved me from that firſt interview. It was there agreed that we ſhould ſee one another privately at Verſailles: he was very much for my immediately coming to an apartment in the palace: he even inſiſted on it; but I begged he would give me leave to remain ſtill incognito for ſome time; and the King, being the moſt polite man in France, yielded to my requeſt. On my return to Paris, a thouſand freſh emotions roſe in my breaſt. A ſtrange thing is the human heart! we feel the effects of thoſe paſſions of which we know not the cauſe. I am ſtill at a loſs whether I loved the King from this firſt meeting: that it gave me infinite pleaſure, I know; but pleaſure is not always a conſequence

of

of love. We are ſuſceptible of a multitude of other paſſions, which may produce the like effect.

I experienced a thouſand delights in our ſecret intercourſe: little do I wonder that Madame de la Valiere, in the infancy of her amours with Lewis XIV. was ſo tranſported with the ſole enjoyment of that Monarch's affection: but at length, the King requiring that I ſhould live at Verſailles, I complied with his deſire.

Now was my firſt appearance at court. Very faint and imperfect are the deſcriptions which books give of this grand theatre. I thought myſelf amidſt another ſpecies of mortals: I obſerved that their manners and uſages are not the ſame; and that in regard to dreſs, deportment, and language, the inhabitants of Verſailles are entirely different from thoſe of Paris. Every courtier, beſides his perſonal character, frames to himſelf another, under which he acts his ſeveral parts. In town, virtue and

vice are ſtreightened; here both range at large. The paſſions are the ſtronger, as they happen to be at the ſource of the means of gratifying them. Private intereſt, from whence they derive all their activity, is there in its centre. The Prince's favour gives life and motion to the courtier's ſoul: without a beam from the throne, it is all a horrid gloom.

To appear with dignity on this theatre, where I was an utter ſtranger, I ſaw that it behoved me to make it my firſt care to examine into the temper of thoſe actors who played the capital parts.

Of his Majeſty I knew nothing, but by common report; and that, when it relates to a reigning Prince, is generally wrong; either flattery attributing too many virtues to him, or malevolence charging him with too many vices.

Lewis XV. is endowed with great natural parts, a ſurpriſing quickneſs of apprehenſion, and ſolidity of judgment.

He

He, at once, diſcerns the ſprings which give motion to the moſt complicated affairs of politics: he knows all the weakneſſes of the general ſyſtem, and the faults of each particular adminiſtration. This Prince has a noble and exalted ſoul: the blood of the legiſlator, the hero, and the warrior, runs in his viens; but a narrow education has ſtifled the effect of theſe advantages. Cardinal Fleury, having not one great principle in himſelf, trained this Prince to nothing but trifles: yet this unequal education did not extinguiſh in him the moſt amiable qualities which can adorn a Sovereign. It is impoſſible to exceed the goodneſs of Lewis XV's heart: he is humane, mild, affable, compaſſionate, juſt, delighting in good, a declared enemy to every thing which does not bear the ſtamp of honour and probity, &c. &c.

Singular likewiſe are the virtues of the Queen: ſhe has laid all domeſtic hard-

ſhips

ſhips at the foot of the croſs; ſo far from lamenting a fate, which would have embittered the whole life of another Princeſs, ſhe conſiders it as a particular favour of Heaven, from a perſuaſion that Providence is pleaſed to try her firmneſs in this life, in order to confer the greater reward on her in the next. None of thoſe fretful words which ſpeak a rankled heart ever came from her: ſhe dwells with pleaſure on the King's eminent qualities, and draws a veil over his weakneſſes: ſhe never ſpeaks of him but with a ſenſible reſpect and veneration: it is impoſſible for any lady to carry Chriſtian perfection to a higher degree, and to concenter ſo many qualities in a rank, where the leaſt defects efface the greateſt virtues.

The Dauphin, being at that time very young, did not in the leaſt concern himſelf in public affairs. The King had ordered him not to interfere in politics, and he ſeemed ſufficiently inclined to conform to ſuch injunctions.

The

The young Princeſſes kept pretty much in their apartments, and read a great deal. Sometimes, indeed, they went a-hunting, dined with the King in public, ſhewed themſelves at the balls; then withdrew, without much minding the intrigues of the court.

The Duke of Orleans, though firſt Prince of the blood, ſeldom came to Verſailles: he had given into devotion, and ſpent his life in deeds of charity.

The Prince of Conti was at that time in the field, and wholly taken up with military glory.

Condé was very young, and his uncle Charolois ſunk in the moſt debauched intemperance.

The other Princes of the royal blood had little or no ſhare in public affairs; accordingly they never came to Verſailles, but to be preſent at a great council, or at the King's levee.

Cardinal

Cardinal Tencin bore a great ſway at court; the King confided in him very much; ſo that they often uſed to be buſy together. The moſt weighty concerns of the crown were put into this eccleſiaſtic's hands. Many extolled him as a great miniſter; but as I ſcarce knew the man, I ſhall ſay nothing of him: yet, when I think how much France has ſuffered by Richelieu, Mazarin, and Fleury, I own I do not like to ſee people of that claſs at the head of affairs.

The Count de Maurpas excelled all the miniſters of that time in genius, activity, and penetration: he was of as long a ſtanding in the miniſtry as Lewis XV. in the ſovereignty. To him the kingdom is indebted for ſeveral noble inſtitutions. It was he who re-eſtabliſhed the navy, which, after the death of Lewis XIV. had been moſt ſhamefully neglected. I have been told that the Levant trade was entirely his work. He was indefatigable

in

in his department; and his diſpatches were ſurpriſingly accurate. I have ſeen many of his letters; and think it is ſcarce poſſible to comprize ſo many things in ſo few words.

The d'Argenſons, who had been introduced lately into the miniſtry, had as yet no ſettled character: they were ſaid not to want either genius or probity; but that is not always ſufficient for a proper diſcharge of ſuch a poſt. I have heard that many qualifications are requiſite; and that, if the the leaſt of them be wanting, there is no making any figure in the miniſtry.

The Count de St. Florentin, who managed eccleſiaſtical matters, was little conſidered either at court or in town. He kept himſelf neuter amidſt the intrigues of Verſailles, minding only the buſineſs of his own department. As no great genius is required to iſſue letters *de cachet*, and baniſh prieſts, he filled his poſt

poſt with all the dignity of a miniſter whoſe only buſineſs is to ſign.

Orry, the Comptroller-general, was looked upon as a man of abilities, from his talent at ſcheming pecuniary edicts. Within ſome months after I had been ſettled at Verſailles, he laid before the King no leſs than twenty-five, and theſe were to bring in two hundred millions. He was called the *Grand Financier*, from his finding reſources for the King, by impairing thoſe of the ſtate.

The Prince de Soubiſe was a man of parts and diſcernment. He knew a great deal; but his friends could have wiſhed that he had not embarked in war. The ſoldiery had no opinion of him: perhaps in this they were wrong; yet a great man, who would be uſeful to his country, muſt give way to public prejudice.

Marſhal Noailles had ſtill greater abilities; ſo that it may be queſtioned whether

ther ever any one ſtateſman or general poſſeſſed ſo extenſive a knowlege. The forming of him was an effort of nature. There is not a ſcience relating to political, civil, and military government, with which he was not intimately acquainted; but the exertion of theſe qualities was limited to the cabinet. His timidity and irreſolution, in a day of action, benumbed his faculties, otherwiſe ſo excellent: his genius was certainly vaſt and extenſive; and I queſtion whether Europe had his equal in council.

Marſhal Belleiſle was then in high reputation: the court and town were full of his praiſe. There was not in all France a man who had been at more pains to acquire a ſuperficial knowlege of uſeleſs things: he pretended to be acquainted with every ſubject, and he had the art of making others believe ſo; hence it was not in the leaſt ſuſpected that he underſtood the art of war as little as that of negotiation: his

his manners were mild and engaging, and he had an agreeable fluency of ſpeech; but he was ſo conceited of his knowlege, that although he affected a certain degree of modeſty, ſtill his deportment was ſure to betray his pride: in ſhort, I never knew a vainer creature.

The Chevalier Belleiſle did not affect to have ſo much underſtanding as his brother, which ſhewed him to have the more; but he had all the exceſſive ambition of the Marſhal, and loſt his life in attempting to force an intrenchment, the ſucceſs of which would have raiſed him to the ſame rank.

The Duke de Richelieu was ſtill more idolized than Marſhal Belleiſle. The King could not be without him. He was ſure to be one at the private ſuppers, and he ſuperintended all the diverſions of Verſailles. Never was any man like him for ſtriking out a party of pleaſure,

and

and enlivening it by little incidents. He made it his buſineſs to divert the King, and was very alert in ſeizing every opportunity conducive to that end: but it was not for the King's ſake that he gave himſelf all that trouble: his motive of acting was his own aggrandizement; for he is inſatiably greedy of rank and diſtinctions. Though of no genius for war, he had the ambition of being created a Marſhal of France; and without any political talents, he was for thruſting himſelf into the miniſtry.

Maurice of Saxony was the hero of France: he was eſteemed the kingdom's guardian angel. I ſhall ſpeak of him when I come to treat of the battle of Fontenoy.

Monſieur d'Etrées had the reputation of an able general: I ſhall make farther mention of him in the ſequel.

The greater part of the other courtiers were ſubordinate officers: they uſed to come

come from the army to Verſailles, and then go back from Verſailles to the army; all their buſineſs at court being about preferments. Theſe were the Dukes of Grammont, Piquigny, Biron, la Valiere, Boufflers, Luxembourg; the Marquiſſes of Putange, Maubourg, Bregè, Langeron, Armentieres, Creil, Renepont; the Counts Coigny, la Mothe-Houdancourt, Clermont, Eſtrées, Berenger; Meſſieurs d'Aumont, Meuſe, Ayou, Cibert, Cherſey, Buckley, Segur, Fenelon, St. André, Varennes, Montal, Balincourt, la Fare, Clermont-Tonnerre, with many more who were for raiſing themſelves by the ſword.

There was, at that time, ſcarce a woman at court who aſpired at the King's affections. Thoſe of a diſtinguiſhed rank diſdained to be the objects of a tranſient love; and others, who courted that ſituation, had neither beauty nor graces ſufficient to obtain it; ſo that it was only

Pariſian Ladies who entered into any of theſe intrigues: ſeveral were ſure to place themſelves in ſight whenever the King dined in public; and always attended him to the chace: in ſhort, they were ever dangling after his Majeſty, which was juſt the very way to come ſhort of their aim.

My thoughts were employed to ſecure myſelf in the ſtation to which fortune had raiſed me. The King was with me as often as the affairs of the crown would allow; leaving all grandeur behind him, and coming into my apartment without any thing of that ſtate which attends on him at other places: for my part, I cloſely ſtudied his temper.

Lewis XV. is naturally of a ſaturnine turn: his ſoul is ſhrouded in a thick gloom; ſo that, with every pleaſure at command, he may be ſaid to be unhappy. Sometimes his melancholy throws him into ſuch a languor that nothing affects

fects him, and then he is quite insensible to all entertainment and pleasure. In these intervals, life becomes an insupportable burden to him. The enjoyment of a beautiful woman for a while diverts his uneasiness; but so far is it from being a lasting relief, that his melancholy afterwards returns upon him with redoubled weight.

Another misfortune in this Prince's life is, the continual conflict between his devotion and his passions; pleasure drawing him on, and remorse with-holding him: under this incessant struggle, he is one of the most unhappy men in his kingdom.

I perceived that the King's disposition was not to be changed by love only: this put me on engaging him by the charms of conversation; which has a stronger influence with men than the passions themselves. Of this, history furnished me with an instance in the per-

son

ſon of his great grandfather. Lewis XIV. had ſo habituated himſelf to Madame de Maintenon, that no other woman could make any impreſſion on him; and, tho' the court at that time was full of celebrated beauties, Scarron's widow, at an age when female influence over man is generally on the decline, found means ſo ſtrongly to fix his affection, that her death only put an end to the charm.

I planned a ſeries of diverſions, which, following cloſe on one another, got the better of the King's conſtitution, and diverted him from himſelf. I brought him to like muſic, dancing, plays, and little operas, in which I myſelf uſed to perform; and private ſuppers terminated the feſtivity. Thus the King lay down and roſe in perfect ſatisfaction and good humour. The next day, unleſs detained on ſome great council, or other extraordinary ceremony, he would haſten to my

apartment, to take, if I may presume to use the expression, his dose of good humour for the whole day. He grew fond of me from that instinct which makes us love what contributes to our happiness. All the favourites before me had thought only of making themselves loved by the King: it had not come into their heads to divert him.

Thus I became necessary to his Majesty; his attachment grew stronger every day. I could have wished that our union had rested on love only; but with a Prince accustomed to change, we must do as well as we can.

After the first moments of surprize, which naturally arises in our minds upon any great change, I, in my turn, gave myself up to uneasy reflections. Amidst all the King's affection, I feared the return of his inconstancy. I could lay but little stress on my elevation; all bow the knee to the idol whilst the Prince wor-

ships

ſhips it; but on his over-throwing the altar, it is trampled under foot. Some days after I thought I had more reaſon than ever to fear; for the King, coming to ſup with me, ſeemed more thoughtful than uſual. Inſtead of that gaiety which began to be natural to him, his countenance was quite clouded: all his talk was about politics, the affairs of Europe, and diſpatching a courier to the army; thus, after a ſhort converſation, he withdrew. This abruptneſs filled me with alarms: I had not a wink of ſleep; and next morning I ſent him an account of my condition in the following note:

"SIRE,

"Your politics have quite broke my "heart. I was going to ſay a thouſand "pleaſant things to you, had not your "diſpatches interrupted me. I have not "cloſed my eyes during the whole

" night; for God's ſake, Sire, leave " Europe to itſelf, and allow me to lay " open to you the ſtate of my heart, " which is on the rack when you deprive " me of any opportunity of telling you " that I love you with an affection, the " end of which will be that of my life."

The King having read my letter, came in perſon to my apartment to make me eaſy; and he was now more gay than uſual. I think I never ſaw him in a better temper. He had already given me ſome inſight into the great events at that time on the carpet, and I was for diving into the truth of theſe abſtruſe myſteries; but not a word did I then underſtand in politics. I have heard that the Engliſh ladies have every morning ready laid on their toilet a paper giving them an account of the affairs of Europe, whereas all that we French women find there is our paint-boxes.

I ap-

I applied to Marſhal Belleiſle. "My "Lord, be ſo kind as to inſtruct me in "what you call politics, which every bo- "dy here is continually talking of." He anſwered me ſmiling, "I cannot bring my- "ſelf, Madam, to inſtruct you in a ſcience "which will prove deſtructive to many." Yet the veteran courtier talked to me of ſyſtems, and enlarged upon the methods to be uſed by a ſtate for its aggrandiſement.

After liſtening to him for ſome time, I concluded, though a novice at court, that this ſcience is not reducible to principles nor general rules, as totally depending on time, place, and circumſtances, and theſe almoſt ever ariſing from chance.

In order to get a knowlege of the preceding adminiſtrations, I ſet myſelf to read the hiſtory of our government; but it was not in books that I ſought for this knowledge, having always looked on them as the ſource of public errors. I

conſulted original manuſcripts, which were put into my hands by the King himſelf. Here I ſaw all the former miſtakes, and the original cauſes of them.

As it was known both at Paris and Verſailles that Lewis XV. was unſettled in his amours, his favourites had no very regular court. It often fell out that a lady whom the King had diſtinguiſhed, lay down in high favour, and roſe in diſgrace: for vacant employments and temporary grants the favourites were practiſed on; but for the great purpoſes of ambition other ſprings than miſtreſſes were ſet to work.

In the firſt months of my favour ſcarce any body came near me. The Duke de Richelieu was the only nobleman who viſited me in the King's abſence; but when, by the Monarch's order, I made my appearance as Marchioneſs de Pompadour, and his Majeſty was continually giving me marks of his eſteem, the face

of

of things changed. Envy and ambition formed two numerous parties. The former blackened me with the moſt virulent malice; and the latter as much exceeded in the moſt fulſome adulation. The motive in one was hope of preferment, the other acted from a deſpair of ever being preferred: both, however, joined in aſking favours of me.

I uſed my intereſt with the King in behalf of both. If I raiſed a perſon to a conſiderable poſt, or procured him a large penſion, I ſurely drew on myſelf a hundred enemies, beſides his ingratitude. At length all the kingdom came to pay their court to me; for the royal favour continued to ſhine on me as bright as ever. They who had been the moſt forward in reviling my birth, now claimed kindred with me. I ſhall never forget a letter I received at Verſailles from a gentleman of one of the moſt antient

families in Provence, in the following terms:

"Dear Couſin,

"I did not know that I was related "to you till now that the King has cre- "ated you Marchioneſs de Pompadour: "a learned genealogiſt has demonſtrated "to me, that your great-grandfather was "fourth couſin to my grandfather; ſo "you ſee, dear couſin, our alliance "is indiſputable. If you deſire it, I'll "ſend you our pedigree, that you may "ſhew it to the King.

"In the mean time, my ſon, your cou- "ſin, who has ſerved with diſtinction "ſeveral years, wants a regiment; and "as he cannot hope to obtain it by his "rank, be ſo good as to aſk the favour "from the King."

I ſent

I ſent him the following anſwer:

SIR,

"I ſhall lay hold of the very firſt op-
"portunity to deſire his Majeſty to give
"your ſon a regiment. But I likewiſe
"have a favour to aſk of you, which is
"to diſpenſe me from the honour of be-
"ing related to you. I have ſome fa-
"mily reaſons which forbid me to think,
"that my forefathers have ever been al-
"lied to any of the antient houſes of this
"kingdom."

Half France would hide themſelves for ſhame, were I to give a detail of all the mean, fawning letters ſent to me by perſons of the firſt families in the kingdom. A Princeſs could write to me in this manner:

"My dear Friend,

"I beg you would aſk the King for a
"grant of farmer-general for Mr. Ar-

" mand M——, a ſuperannuated clerk,
" whoſe fortune I would gladly make.
" For this favour I ſhall hold myſelf
" obliged to you as long as I live.

" I am, my dear,

" With all poſſible regard,

" Your moſt humble ſervant."

The public envy, however, increaſing with the marks of royal favour, the world, at any rate, would make me anſwerable for the events of the times. It has been in every body's mouth, that all the misfortunes of France were owing to me. If there were any grounds for ſuch a charge, the kingdom muſt have been in a proſperous and flouriſhing ſtate when his Majeſty called me to Verſailles; whereas it was very far from being ſo. The cauſe of the evil lay deep; ſo that France, under all its preſſures, was only fulfilling its deſtiny. The misfortunes of the adminiſtration

ſtration in this reign are to be conſidered as flowing from the former adminiſtration.

At the time of the demiſe of Lewis XIV. the kingdom was in a dreadful diſorder; the debts of the nation were immenſe, and the public credit totally ruined; ſo that the ſtate then laboured under an evil, which was not to be cured by temporary remedies. Lewis the Great, by his exceſſive fondneſs for ſplendor, had impoveriſhed the people. The preceding Kings were contented with being the ſtewards or managers of the general wealth, but he made himſelf the proprietor of it: he became maſter of the nation's treaſure; all the finances were in his hands: he had augmented the crown revenues beyond all relative proportion: in the courſe of three years the whole ſpecies of France came into his coffers: beſides, his magnificence had ſet his ſubjects the perni-

cious example of impoverishing themselves by profuse expences.

The duke of Orleans, who was at the head of the state after Lewis XIV. so far from restoring order, increased the confusion. He promoted a system of finances, which proved their utter ruin. All the riches of the monarchy changed hands. No such thing as money was to be seen; foreigners ran away with one part, and domestic stock-jobbers secreted the other; no plan of administration could be contrived, capable of putting a stop to evils, unprecedented from the very foundation of the monarchy. This revolution greatly affected the several branches of the national strength. Agriculture, trade, arts, and ingenuity, were sufferers by it, and still suffer: for I have heard very knowing persons say, that the grand system had given birth to many detrimental systems in the state.

Cardinal

Cardinal Fleury ſucceeded him; and things went ſtill worſe: he alone did more harm to France than all thoſe before him, who had like to have ruined this realm. His particular qualities were order, oeconomy, and moderation; virtues excellent in a private perſon, but in a ſtateſman often very great vices. All his view was, to fill the treaſury, fancying that if the King were but rich, the ſtate would no longer be poor. Thus he went on increaſing the opulence of the crown, from the people's ſubſiſtence. Intent upon ſaving, he let the navy run to ruin, that is, he deprived France of the only way left for retrieving itſelf.

Fleury died; but this produced no amendment in the adminiſtration. France had not a miniſter capable of ſetting things to rights. They who were put at the head of affairs, were very buſy, but without any knowledge. I have been told by a very experienced perſon, who uſed to come and

ſee

ſee me at Verſailles, that if at the Cardinal's death the miniſtry had been put into the hands of an angel, he could not have done the crown much good. He added, that all the moſt able miniſter could do, was to prepare materials for a better adminiſtration. The government, ſaid he, has ſix capital imperfections, and theſe are not to be amended, but by caſting the conſtitution in a new mould.

Another outcry was my being the ſource of favours, and that I diſpoſed of every thing in the kingdom; with this addition, that I had brought the King to ſuch a cuſtom of viſiting me, as had made it a kind of law to him, never to refuſe me any thing. To this I anſwer, that it is an evil both neceſſary and natural to abſolute government. Sovereigns muſt either have a confident or a miſtreſs; and of the two the ſtate generally ſuffers moſt by the former. Men in general have

have ambitious views, which a women does not trouble herſelf about. The confident ſtudies to avail himſelf of the prince's favour in all the means of raiſing himſelf to the higheſt fortune; he gets the ſole management of the public finances; he engroſſes the moſt lucrative poſts, and diſtributes among his relations and creatures, thoſe which he does not take for himſelf: the conſequence of this is a general revolution in the government. In ſhort, he has ſchemes of grandeur and elevation quite foreign to our ſex.

I have read in the annals of our monarchy that Richelieu's ambition brought a thouſand miſchiefs on France: that favourite of Lewis XIII. ſacrificed every thing to a giddy deſire of appearing to be the only perſon of conſequence in the kingdom. He cut the very ſinews of the political power of all other bodies. He annulled the privileges of the nobility, which alone could make any ſtand againſt the

deſpotiſm

deſpotiſm of our Kings; and therein he did more harm to France, than ever it has to fear from any miſtreſſes.

Mazarine, the ſecond favourite, had an army in pay, and perſonally made war on the ſtate. He impriſoned the princes of the blood, and raiſed ſuch animoſities and diſturbances as in a manner ſubverted all government. He got the public treaſure into his poſſeſſion; almoſt all the money of the kingdom was in his coffers. He uſed to ſell the principal ſtate employments: when the King wanted money he was obliged to apply to him. And our times have ſeen Count Bruhl, the King of Poland's favourite exceed his maſter, in extravagance.

There are, at this time, ſeveral Dukes in the kingdom * who give France cauſe to remember that its Kings have had favourites; whereas what great fortune,

* The dukes of Richelieu, Mazarin, and Fleury.

what

what titles or diſtinctions has my brother Marigni? Die when he will, he will leave no monuments of the particular favour with which Lewis the XVth honoured me.

I have been likewiſe accuſed of introducing into the miniſtry perſons of no turn for buſineſs, ignorant, ſhallow, and ſuperficial fellows: but where ſhall I find any other in France? The human mind ſeems to have been degenerated among us.

The French nobility, though moſt concerned in the public adminiſtration, give no attention to buſineſs; their life is a round of indolence, luxury, and diſſipation. They know as little of politics as of finances and œconomy. A gentleman either ſpends his life at his ſeat in rural ſports, or comes to Paris to ruin himſelf with an opera girl. They who have an ambition to figure in the miniſtry, have no other merit than intrigue and cabal.

If

If they are traverſed in their views, or afterwards ſuperſeded, ſuch meaſure is with them an effect of the prince's prejudice.

The age of able miniſters in France ſeems paſt. After all my inquiries for a Colbert and Louvois, I could only meet with Chamillards and Dubois's; ſo that I was forced to commit all the branches of government to financiers by profeſſion; a ſet of people void of capacity, and only ſkilful in one thing, which is pillaging the ſtate.

My enemies have farther affirmed, that I put the King on too frequent a change of his miniſters; but that is an invention, which, in no wiſe, belongs to me. Before ever I knew the court, placemen were not more ſettled in their poſts than ſince. Every day ſaw ſuch creations and inſtitutions; and this, perhaps, may ſtill be a neceſſary evil in France. Before thoſe gentlemen are in place, nothing can come up to their plan of government; they

they have effectual ways and means for reforming every thing that is amiſs; they know the ſeat of the diſeaſe, and what will remove it: but no ſooner have they got the reins of government in their hands, than their incapacity throws every thing into confuſion. On the public misfortunes they ſcarce beſtow a thought; all they mind is their own perſonal intereſt. The ambition of being prime miniſter ſoon gets footing in them; and its continual agitation leaves no room in their mind for any attention to the kingdom. Ten years of adminiſtration in France make a miniſter ſo abſolute, that he grows a mere Pacha; any intimation of his is a peremptory order: the Grand Signior is not more deſpotic at Conſtantinople than a French Secretary of State, after ſpending ten years at Verſailles.

It is the ſame with military affairs: however brave and courageous the French nobility may be, they have little

or no genius for war: the hardſhip of a campaign immediately puts them out of conceit. France has no military ſchool*. A young nobleman is made a Colonel before he is an officer, and then ſteps into the general command, without any experience. If two Frenchmen are appointed to command the armies in Flanders or Germany, immediately the ſpirit of envy kindles among them, and they will gratify their private piques and quarrels, whatever becomes of the ſtate. In the mean time, the enemies profit by theſe diviſions, and forward their ſchemes. In the late war, the King was obliged to commit the ſafety of his crown to two foreigners: had it not been for the Counts Saxe and Lowendahl, the enemies of France might have been at the gates of Paris.

* The military ſchool was but juſt inſtituted.

It is a miſtake to think that a woman, who is in diſtinguiſhed favour with a Prince, ſtands in need of weak miniſters and bad generals to ſupport her: incapacity ſpoils all and anſwers no purpoſe. Political miſtakes, at the ſame time that they throw a ſhade on the Prince's glory, utterly efface the luſtre of his favourite. I can truly ſay, that moſt of the vexations I have gone through, ſince my reſidence at court, proceeded from hence. On every advantage gained by our enemies the king uſed to be melancholy and full of thought; and though this Prince be extremely polite, and not one diſobliging word came from his mouth, yet his diſcompoſure, at that time, embittered every other enjoyment of my life.

I never made a miniſter, I never adviſed the King to confer the command of an army on any perſon, of whoſe abilities I was not certainly convined, and whoſe merit was not univerſally confeſſed. The great

great uſed to compliment me on it, and the King himſelf congratulated me on my good judgment of men; their fitneſs was proclaimed by the univerſal voice.

I muſt here mention the troubles the court laboured under, when the King gave me an apartment at Verſailles; the occurrences of thoſe times belonging to the plan of theſe Memoirs. Without that crowd of incidents which then fell out, and which the King uſed to communicate to me, my favour perhaps had never riſen to ſuch a height; for the events of this world are always directed by ſecond cauſes.

Ever ſince the year 1741, France had continued to wage war in Italy, in Flanders, and in Germany. Charles the VIth. the laſt male deſcendant of the houſe of Auſtria by the male ſide, had an ambition, which was not to be limited even by death; he was for ſurviving himſelf, and

and tranſmitting his power beyond the grave.

This Prince, after acquiring a very large extent of dominions, had procured them to be guarantied by the chief powers of Chriſtendom. The ſmall military force at that time on foot in Europe, had induced the Chriſtian Princes, to ſuch a weak compliance. Italy was quite ſpent; all the petty governments of the empire were under a political ſlavery; and the great houſes of the North were little better. On the deceaſe of that Prince all began to breathe, and every one claimed their reſpective right.

The Elector of Bavaria demanded a part of the ſucceſſion; Auguſtus King of Poland ſet forth his pretenſions; the King of Spain likewiſe put in for a ſhare: and, what is more, there appeared two pragmatic ſanctions; one giving the Auſtrian dominions to the Archduchеſs, ſpouſe to

the

the Poliſh Prince; and the other ſecuring them to Maria Thereſa, Charles's eldeſt daughter. Such a contrariety of intereſts muſt of courſe give riſe to a general war; but it began from a quarter which policy would never have apprehended.

The King of Pruſſia, almoſt the only Prince in Europe who had no pretenſions to the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, yet made his demands, and, inſtead of manifeſtoes, aſſerted them by the ſword. His troops invaded the very beſt province of all the Queen of Hungary's dominions, and made themſelves maſters of it. The crown was of no long ſtanding in the Brandenburgh family: it had firſt obtained the title of Majeſty from the Emperor Leopold; and this honour had little added to its real greatneſs. The King of Pruſſia was of little account among the European potentates; and what claims he had to any of the Auſtrian effects were merely

on

on a private account; and turns on the reſtitution of ſome duchies, which his family had been poſſeſſed of by right of purchaſe; yet he invades Sileſia as a ſovereign.

I have heard that Maria Thereſa was on the brink of ruin, when her very enemies ſaved her. The Hungarians, who for ages paſt had been endeavouring to overthrow that family, now, one and all, vigorouſly roſe in her defence.

The Duke of Belleiſle told me, that this change in the political world was wrought by that Princeſs's haranguing them in Latin; "a great change, indeed (added he), for had the Hungarians abandoned that princeſs, very probably we ſhould have heard no more of the houſe of Auſtria."

Lewis XV. joined with the King of Pruſſia to place the Elector of Bavaria on the Imperial throne; beſides the diverſion occaſioned in the North by the election,

the King ſaid, that the houſe of Bourbon was now diſcharging an old debt with Bavaria.

Were gratitude of any weight in the conduct of Sovereigns, France might indeed be thought to have taken arms in return for its obligations to the Electors of Bavaria, who have ever been firm allies to this crown, and had ſuſtained very conſiderable loſſes in its cauſe.

The houſe of Bourbon joined with that of Brandenburgh to weaken the ſucceſſion of Charles VI; beſides, the exaltation of a Prince of the houſe of Bavaria to the Imperial throne ſecured to France an aſcendancy in Germany.

It has been reported that the King of Pruſſia, at firſt, offered Maria Thereſa money and troops to maintain her right againſt the other powers, on condition of her ceding Lower Sileſia to him. Had ſhe agreed to this, the affairs of Europe would have taken a different turn. But,

from

from what I have perceived ſince my living at Verſailles, Princes often make a tender of what they have no mind to give. This the Marſhal de Noailles called *political compliments*.

Frederick had a ſure game of it; and it is ſeldom that Princes aſk of others what they can get by themſelves. The houſe of Auſtria was not able to make head againſt his invaſion of Sileſia; nothing was in readineſs for preventing it; therefore France in a manner could do no otherwiſe than declare for the Pruſſian Monarch. Accordingly the treaty was made; and to give it the greater weight the King of Poland was made a party; he then little thought that this ſame Frederic would one day invade his dominions.

This confederacy was the baſis of ſeveral others: the Palatinate, Spain, and Italy came into the plan; Spain wanted

to procure Parma, Placentia, and the Milaneze, for Don Philip.

All the negociations in Germany were committed to the Marſhal Belleiſle. The poor Elector of Bavaria, who was to be made Emperor, had not wherewith to raiſe ſix regiments; ſo that, in the war which we were now undertaking for his ſake, every thing was to be furniſhed him. France as it were armed him from head to foot; and made him her Lieutenant General in Germany: and thus the ſucceſſor of the Cæſars became a ſubaltern officer of the houſe of Bourbon: however, in conſequence of his title, an army was ſent for him to command.

Whilſt one party was forming to overthrow the houſe of Auſtria, another was gathering to prevent its fall. Holland aud England, whoſe common intereſt it was that there ſhould be a power in Germany able to cope with Verſailles, were already making preparations for a German

German war; but hitherto the houſe of Auſtria received only pecuniary aids.

Prague was taken, and the Elector of Bavaria proclaimed King of Bohemia, and ſoon after Emperor. This laſt title he firſt received from Marſhal Belleiſle: thus a ſubject of the King of France diſpoſes of a throne, which anciently, had diſpoſed of all the empires of the world.

This Marſhal has ſince ſaid to me, that the court of Verſailles overſhot itſelf, and that the war had been begun where it ſhould have ended. The armies of the King of France and the Elector of Bavaria, together with the Saxon troops, were not ſufficient for keeping the countries which it was neceſſary to reduce.

The victors advanced without ever looking behind them, till Marſhal Belleiſle, foreſeeing that theſe victories would ſoon occaſion defeats, thought it proper to be indiſpoſed, and aſk leave to

retire. Marſhal Brogolio was diſpatched to him, and on taking a view of things, ſoon ſaw into the cauſe of Belleiſle's indiſpoſition. Six years after, theſe two Generals being in my apartment, the latter ſaid to the other concerning this affair, *faith, Marſhal, you played me a ſcurvy trick there.*

The Hungarians made good all loſſes of men; and I have been ſince told by connoiſſeurs in military affairs, that of infantry we ſent a ſufficiency, but had forgot cavalry, which, in Germany, is the more neceſſary body.

The King of Pruſſia's drift was to profit by the diſadvantages of his allies: he had made conqueſts, which he carefully kept to himſelf, regardleſs of the loſſes of his allies; but he ſtill wanted a deciſive victory to make himſelf dreaded by the houſe of Auſtria, with whom he was already diſpoſed to come to terms. He fought the battle of

Czaſlaw,

Czaſlaw, which terminating in a complete victory on his ſide, he remained inactive, and ſoon after ſtruck up a peace with Maria Thereſa.

Every thing now went againſt France; her troops were driven from their poſts, her convoys intercepted, her magazines ſeized, and the far greater part of the army periſhed by ſickneſs.

Then it was that the French Generals diſcovered the Pruſſian Monarch's temper. Marſhal Belleiſle has often told me, that he had ſeen into his way of thinking; but judged that the progreſs of the French arms in Germany would force him to be faithful to the alliance. So true is this, added he, that on the firſt rumour of our misfortunes, I ſaid to M. de Broglio, *the King of Pruſſia now will ſhift ſides.*

One of the articles of the treaty was, to renounce his alliance with the houſe of Bourbon; and thus the French troops were ſacrificed.

For that, ſaid a very knowing man to me, not long ſince, we may thank the council of Verſailles, which, inſtead of ſuch a body of troops as would have been equal to any undertaking, had only ſent ſmall armies, whoſe ſickneſs ruined them as faſt as they came.

The Emperor, being but ill aſſiſted by France, was flying before his enemies; he had quitted his capital, and was at a loſs where to ſhelter himſelf. His deſtiny ſeemed the more melancholy, as he was on the point of being tumbled down from the higheſt pitch of human exaltation.

Of all his mortifications the moſt ſevere certainly was his being forced to become a ſuppliant to his capital enemy, the Queen of Hungary. He made her an offer to limit his ambition to the imperial crown, and deſiſt from all his claims to the Auſtrian ſucceſſion.

But

But things now went ſo well with Maria Thereſa, that, inſtead of a moderate anſwer to theſe propoſals, ſhe very nearly called him rebel, and driving him out of Bavaria, ſignified to him that the only ſafe ſhelter for him in Germany was the territory of the empire.

England's hands were tyed; Maillebois, at the head of a large body of troops, had obliged George II. to ſign a treaty of neutrality, and the Dutch were unable and as little diſpoſed to interfere in the affairs of Germany.

Robert Walpole, then the ruling miniſter in Great Britain, was all for peace, as underſtanding nothing of war. Every miniſter in Europe, (as a man of great wit, who often came to me at Verſailles, pointed out to me) has his peculiar talents, according to which he gives the bias to public affairs. Walpole's ſyſtem was that the power of Great Britain lay in trade,

and that ſuch a nation is to keep clear of ſieges and battles.

The king ſhewed me ſeveral of that miniſter's letters to Cardinal Fleury. In one he ſays,

" *I engage to keep the parliament to a* " *peaceable diſpoſition, if you will bridle* " *the martial ardour of your people; for* " *a miniſter in England cannot do every* " *thing,*" &c. &c.

In another,

" *I have a deal of difficulty to keep our* " *people from coming to blows; not that they* " *are bent on war, but becauſe I am for* " *preſerving peace; for our Engliſh politi-* " *cians muſt be ever ſkirmiſhing, either in* " *the field or at Weſtminſter.*

In a third letter he expreſſes himſelf thus:

" *I penſion half the parliament to keep it* " *quiet; but as the King's money is not ſufficient,* " *and they to whom I give none, clamour loudly* " *for a war, it would be expedient for your Eminence*

" *Eminence to remit me three millions of*
" *French livres, in order to ſilence theſe bar-*
" *kers. Gold is a metal which here corrects*
" *all qualities in the blood. A penſion of two*
" *thouſand pounds a year will make the moſt*
" *impetuous warrior in parliament as tame*
" *as a lamb. In ſhort, ſhould England break*
" *out, you will, beſides the uncertainty of*
" *events in war, be under the neceſſity of*
" *paying larger ſubſidies to foreign powers,*
" *to be on an equality with us; where-*
" *as, by furniſhing me with a little money,*
" *you purchaſe peace at the firſt hand.*"
" &c. &c.

But Walpole having been obliged to quit the miniſtry, Great Britain ſided with the houſe of Auſtria. She was already at war with Spain. The Engliſh ſent a large army into Flanders, before ever the court of Verſailles had thought of garriſoning its ſtrong places, ſo that the way lay open for them into France; and why they did not enter it, will ever remain a ſecret. A Britiſh

miniſter has ſince told me, that there were at that time too many malecontents in the army; and that the invaſion of France was omitted, purely in ſpight to a party, who had ever maintained, that the only way to reſtore the balance of Germany, was to penetrate beyond Flanders. Thus, added the miniſter by way of reflection, our government which is looked on as one of the beſt modeled in Europe, is ſacrificed to private paſſions.

Prague, that city on which France had founded all its hopes, began to be deſpaired of; and from thence it was that, ſome time after, Belleiſle made that fine retreat, with which, every day of his life afterwards I was ſure to be entertained; for the old man was very vain. He uſed to ſay, it was the fineſt military performance the age had ſeen.

All Europe was in a ferment. Italy had taken arms to defend a liberty which it no longer enjoyed. I have been told that

that the Pope himſelf entered into treaties tending to continue and ſpread the war.

The balance of Europe ſeems to have been the point in queſtion; but all ſtates aimed at giving France ſome underhand wounds.

Cardinal Fleury, though he had avoided war, had not ſtudied peace ſo much as he ought. He had, for ſome years paſt, perfectly doated through length of age, and his ſticklers took his reveries for ſo many refined ſtrokes of policy.

Some people in France have greatly cried up his order and œconomy, whereas they were nothing more than the effects of his niggardlineſs; for ſo penurious was he, that he never could prevail on himſelf to furniſh his houſe. All the affairs of France ſavoured of avarice and parſimony.

On his death, the King became his own maſter; for till then Lewis had been

in

in reality only the ſecond perſon in the ſtate: but he made not the leaſt alteration in the tenour of affairs. The ſame faults went on; ſo that a judicious perſon who, at that time, had a place at court, told me lately, that things looked as if the Cardinal had been living after his death, ſmall armies being ſent into Germany, by way of œconomy; which all periſhed like the former. The Dutch, after many prayers and threats, had declared themſelves.

I have been told by a perſon who has made it his buſineſs to obſerve the policy of every nation, that the Dutch have two maxims from which they never depart, the firſt is, whatever wars ariſe between the great powers, to be always neuter, that they may engroſs the whole commerce of Europe. The ſecond is, to watch the moment of France's being over-powered by its enemies, and then declare againſt it. It was unqueſtionably

in conſequence of the latter, that they joined their troops to thoſe of England, and took the field. This laſt alliance was offenſive and defenſive, and all Europe found itſelf in a ſtate of war.

Germany, Holland, Flanders, Piedmont, and every part of Italy, ſwarmed with ſoldiers. The Count d'Argenſon calculated that Europe had then nine hundred thouſand men on foot, ready to cut each others throats, without any known reaſon. Particularly France was ruining its finances, and loſing the flower of its people, to no manner of purpoſe; for, after all, ſaid an able politician to me one day, on this head, what was an Elector of Bavaria's being Emperor of Germany to us; or Don Philip being Duke of Parma? I ſhall never forget what I read in Voltaire concerning this: *It was*, ſays he, *a game that Princes were playing all over Europe, hazarding, pretty equally, their people's blood and treaſure; and*

and by a medley of fine actions, faults, and losses, keeping fortune a long time suspended. It must be observed that, amidst all this fighting, no war had been declared; the greater part of the troops slaughtered each other only as auxiliaries.

Chales VII. the cause of this general conflagration, had now neither subjects nor dominions left; he was not allowed so much as to bear the title of Emperor, the only honour remaining to him; and his election was declared all over Germany to be null and void; so that he saw himself reduced to accept of a neutrality in his own cause. This step alone ought to have put an end to the German war; but, by my own experience, I have since known, that princes do not make war from any connected system, but only as coinciding with the motions of second causes.

The large French armies were now withdrawn out of Germany; indeed most of the troops left there had been made

made priſoners of war. The Marſhal de Noailles has ſeveral times ſaid to me, that of all the political errors committed in Europe for theſe thouſand years paſt, the German war was the greateſt.

In reading the hiſtory of that time, it appeared to me, that of all the princes engaged in the war, Emanuel King of Sardinia was the only one who had any ſhadow of reaſon for it. France was for ſettling contiguous to his dominions, a prince of the houſe of Bourbon, whoſe ſettlement muſt have been highly inconvenient to him; accordingly, in order to exclude this dangerous neighbour, he ſtruck in with the enemies of France. From the beginning of the war, this prince had aſſiſted the houſe of Auſtria, and now entered into a treaty with it. England ſupplied him with money to defray the charges of the war: but the Queen of Hungary went farther, conferring

ferring on him a little ſtate, which did not belong to her *.

France, in 1744, declared war againſt England, and the houſe of Auſtria; and ſoon after this declaration, a great project was taken in hand: overtures were made to Prince Edward, the Pretender's ſon, for recovering the throne of his anceſtors.

He was a ſpirited, bold, courageous young man, quite tired of leading an indolent life at Rome, and impatient to ſignalize himſelf.

The houſe of Stuart is ſo unfortunate, that I queſtion, whether it would be in the power of all Europe joined, to reſtore it to its antient rights. There ſeems ſomething of a fatality annexed to that name.

France made all the preparatives in his favour, and gave him all the aſſiſtance which the poſture of affairs could

* The country of Final, which belonged to the Genoeſe.

admit

admitof; but the whole deſign miſcarried. A long time after, I, one day, aſked the King, whether it had been his real intention, to place the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain? his anſwer was, that neither he nor his council ever thought it practicable; that this reſtoration depended on a multitude of ſecond cauſes, the courſe of which was no longer under any political direction. The Marſhal de Noailles one day ſaid to him in my hearing, *Sir, if your Majeſty would have had maſs ſaid in London, you ſhould have ſent an army of three hundred thouſand men to officiate at it.*

In the mean time, young Edward, eager of doing ſomething to be talked of, put to ſea, and had a diſtant view of the kingdom, the poſſeſſion of which both fate and policy denied to him. A tempeſt diſappointed his landing, and ſcattered his fleet; yet the ardent Pretender would, in ſpight of the wind, make his

landing

landing good, and fight alone againſt all England. Verſailles had received the moſt particular aſſurances, that he had a very ſtrong party at London, and it was on this plan that the expedition had been formed.

It is not very long ſince I happened to be at the Marſhal Belliſle's; as he was looking for ſome writings in his cloſet, he put a paper into my hand, ſaying, *There, Madam, there is ſomething for you to read; that letter has coſt us a great many millions, which are gone to the bottom of the ſea; it was directed to the court of France, by a party of* Jacobites, *as they are called in England.* The words of it were theſe.

" *The tabernacle is ready, the holy ſacra-*
" *ment need but appear, and we will go and*
" *meet it with the croſs. The proceſſion*
" *will be numerous, but the people here be-*
" *ing very hard of belief, ſoldiers and arms*
" *will be neceſſary; for it is only by powder*
" *and ball, that the ſyſtem of tranſubſtanti-*
" *ation*

" *ation can be made to go down in England.*
" *Depend on it, that we will do every*
" *thing to the utmoſt of our power; and we*
" *can before hand aſſure you, that the land-*
" *ing once made, our party will have nothing*
" *to do but to pronounce theſe words*: ite,
" Miſſa eſt.

In this letter were mentioned twenty-two perſons, ſeveral of whom now hold a conſiderable rank in England. Sometime after, he ſhowed me another, the tenor of which is this.

" *Whatever people ſay, the expedition is*
" *not difficult: a landing may eaſily be made;*
" *every thing favours the revolution; the*
" *advantages religion gives us, will be*
" *greatly ſtrengthed by political motives. The*
" *Hanoverian is hated, he is continually*
" *oppreſſing the nation, aiming both at abſo-*
" *lute power, and draining the peoples ſub-*
" *ſtance.*"

The

The attempt on England failing, freſh efforts were made in Italy for ſettling Don Philip; but this the King of Sardinia, who has the key of the Alps, oppoſed; and the Prince of Conti engaged to make his way through them. This was in ſome meaſure warring againſt God, who has ſeparated the two ſtates by inacceſſible mountains. I have had ſeveral times read to me in my apartment, the tranſactions of that Prince in thoſe impractiable climates; the taking Chateau Dauphin, and his other ſucceſſes amidſt thoſe rocks and precipices: and the Prince of Conti in this expedition appears to me greater than many heroes whoſe fame is high; but great men have not always juſtice done them.

Lewis XV. who never had ſeen an army, was now for putting himſelf at the head of his troops, and determined to make his firſt campaign in Flanders. On his arrival, Courtray ſurrendered; and

and ſoon after Menin followed its example. The King himſelf, to the great encouragement of the ſoldiery, uſed to be preſent at the works.

This firſt campaign of the King's having been much talked of in France; on the peace, I aſked his Majeſty, whether he had found in himſelf a fixed inclination for war. He at firſt eluded anſwering me, and talked in general terms; but a year after, in one of thoſe moments of confidence, when the heart lays itſelf open in the arms of friendſhip, he told me it would have been his reigning paſſion; and that, without the recent example of his great-grand-father, and Cardinal Fleury's earneſt councils to him, he ſhould totally have given himſelf up to war; but that the affection due to his people had got the better of his paſſion. Happy government, when the Monarch ſacrifices his propenſions to the welfare of his ſubjects!

Lewis

Lewis was obliged to quit his firſt conqueſts, and fly to the aſſiſtance of Alſace, Prince Charles having paſſed the Rhine to invade ſeveral of the French provinces; but upon the King's approach at the head of his army, the prince repaſſed the Rhine.

All the advantages which France had gained in Flanders did not much improve its ſituation. The Queen of Hungary's alliance with England, Holland, Sardinia, and Saxony was too great a counterpoize. The king of Pruſſia himſelf made a convention with Great Britain, but had not included in his agreement that the houſe of Auſtria ſhould become ſo powerful. In treaties between Sovereigns, it is always underſtood, that the party in favour of whom a neutrality is obſerved, ſhall not increaſe his forces beyond a certain relative proportion: now the houſe of Brandenburgh has more to fear from that of Auſtria than from any other in Europe;

ſo he kept himſelf a mere ſpectator of the war, whilſt the loſſes of France and the emperor were inconſiderable; but on the queen's making a rapid progreſs, he armed to ſtop her career. I have ſince frequently aſked the Marſhal de Noailles, one of the greateſt politicians in France, why Sovereign Princes make no ſcruple to commit theſe breaches of faith, which in common life are reckoned intolerable vices? His conſtant anſwer was, that theſe infractions were neceſſary, and that Europe even owed its ſafety to them: were it not for ſuch failures, the univerſal commonwealth would ſoon be made ſubject to one ſingle prince; and this he might compaſs, only by once bringing the others to ſtand neuter.

The King of Pruſſia's firſt ſtep, after his new alliance with France, was, to march with a powerful army towards Prague. Whilſt all France was rejoicing at Frederic's ſucceſſes, advice came

that the King was taken ill at Metz, and the ſymptoms were grown very dangerous: this cauſed a general affliction; I remember every body was in tears. Theſe cordial marks of affection are a higher praiſe, and expreſs his character better than all the flattering ſtrokes with which writers will disfigure his hiſtory. I have talked with many who were preſent at the death of Lewis XIV. and according to them, not a tear was ſhed in France. Nobody was afflicted with the news; and his death was quite forgot before he was buried; heroiſm being leſs eſtemed than goodneſs; and Lewis XV. is the beſt Prince that ever ſat on a throne.

The beloved Monarch recovered, and then the nation's joy exceeded its former conſternation. He laid ſiege to Friburg in Briſgau, and razed its fortifications, as he had demoliſhed thoſe of other places which had yielded to his arms: A policy,

licy, which, perhaps, may prevent many wars hereafter.

M. de Maurepas was ſaying one day to me on this head, that the Turks and Perſians have ſcarce any fortified places, and that was the reaſon of their ſeldom making war on one another. I have ſince heard, that moſt of our wars in Europe were owing to this; that ſtates confided too much in baſtions and citadels, which hindered negociations from taking effect. If ſo, the famous Vauban, whoſe genius is ſo often extolled, muſt have done a great deal of miſchief to France.

In the mean time, the King of Pruſſia, who, by arming in favour of France, had changed all the German ſyſtems, decamped from Prague; his army fled before that of Prince Charles, who, repaſſing the Rhine in the ſight of the French, croſſed the Elbe to attack the Pruſſians. I never could come at a certain knowledge of this Prince Charles, who

directed moſt of the plans of this war; ſome ſpeaking ſo very well of him, and others ſo very ill, that I have not been able to form any ſettled judgment of his character.

Marſhal Noailles, who knows men, has told me that this Prince wanted neither talents nor genius, but that the goodneſs of his heart fruſtrated the qualities of his mind. Inſtead of having a will of his own, added he, he ſuffers himſelf to be directed by thoſe about him; and theſe are not always the beſt head-pieces in the world. For inſtance, continued he, Prince Charles is now at Bruſſels as Governor of the Low Countries; but there is a German about him, who turns and winds him at his pleaſure, and his pleaſure is not always what ſhould be.

The Auſtrian power, which had been weakened by the king of Pruſſia's joining with France, now received an increaſe

by an alliance with the Elector of Saxony, King of Poland. This Monarch changed meaſures for the ſame reaſon which had induced the King of Pruſſia to change.

All parties in theſe treaties deceived each other. France looked for mighty advantages from a diverſion which the King of Pruſſia was making only for himſelf; and the King of Poland, who had engaged to furniſh the Queen with thirty thouſand men, had a part of Sileſia given to him, which now did not belong to her.

Elevated with this alliance, and eſpecially the aſſiſtance of England, the council at Vienna hoped not only to recover Sileſia, but even to reduce French Flanders. They certainly did not conſider that Lewis XV. had committed the ſecurity of it to one, who was moſt likely to give a good account of it to the kingdom: This was Count Maurice of Saxony.

Other officers owe their abilities to age, reflection, and experience, but he was born a General. His very enemies (and these at Versailles were not few) have done him this justice, that never man surpassed him for a quick and comprehensive penetration. He instantly discerned what other commanders discovered only by time and circumstances. Maurice not only foresaw events, but also produced them; so that he may in some measure be said to have determined fate. This general made war geometrically, never coming to a battle till he had in demonstration gained it. He was said also to be possessed of the great Turenne's distinguishing qualities, that is, to harrass and perplex the enemy by his dexterity in encamping and decamping; a kind of petty war, which seldom fails of leading to great advantages.

This picture, however, is none of my own; I only speak after some of the trade, who

who uſed to talk to me in this manner.

Whilſt the war was proſpering abroad, things went wrong at home. The King was at a loſs for miniſters. The Count de Maurepas put the marine in as good a condition as the Engliſh and the ſtate of affairs would allow: but the other departments were in a terrible diſorder. The foreign affairs were offered to one Villeneuve, an old man, who had been a long time ambaſſador at the Porte, where, though his merit has been much cried up, he had ruined the Turky trade, by turning merchant himſelf. He came home from his ambaſſy with immenſe riches, chiefly extorted from the merchants of Marſeilles. His principal qualities were management and parſimony. Theſe virtues, ſo much countenanced by Cardinal Fleury, were greatly in vogue at Verſailles. Niggardlineſs bore the ſway. The decrepid ambaſſador declined the poſt, doubtleſs as being attended with

more pains than profit. Beſides, I have heard thoſe who knew him perſonally ſay, that he was not in the leaſt fit for that branch of government. His abilities had been much talked of, for having brought about a peace between the Porte and the houſe of Auſtria; but at Conſtantinople, theſe ſort of negociations are carried on without a miniſter's having any great ſhare in them. I have it from M. de Maurepas, that the chief inſtrument in that affair, was a French linguiſt, one de Laria, who was perfectly well acquainted with the temper of the Turks, and had been employed by Villeneuve in that negociation.

In the mean time, affairs in Italy did not go ſo well as could be wiſhed; Don Philip had taken and retaken Savoy, but could not make his way into the country of Placentia.

The King of Naples, whom only a captain of an Engliſh ſhip had compelled

to

to a neutrality, becauſe he was not in a condition to arm, broke it as ſoon as he had got himſelf in readineſs for war.

He had advanced as far as Veletri, where Prince Lobkowitz endeavouring to ſurpriſe him, was himſelf ſurpriſed. The loſs was great on both ſides, and, as I have heard from very experienced officers, the caſe was then as it almoſt ever is on ſuch occaſions, they both weakened themſelves, and without any advantage even to the victor.

Lobkowitz fled before the King of Naples, who purſued him into the Eccleſiaſtical State; ſo that Rome itſelf was in a conſternation, on ſeeing two armies at its gates.

A ſmall event, which fell out at this time in Germany, ſhews the great injuſtice of war, in making the belligerant powers overlook the very laws of nations, which ſhould every where be inviolable.

The King had ſent Marſhal Belleiſle to ſeveral German courts in quality of his ambaſſador, and, as ſuch, he was negociating the affairs of the crown; yet this miniſter, in his way along the ſkirts of the country of Hanover, was ſeized, and ſent over to England as a ſtate priſoner.

This general was treated with great regard, and one of the royal ſeats appointed for his reſidence; but this ſplendid hoſpitality only the more expoſed the injuſtice of that nation.

The Marſhal has ſince told me, that he was not at all ſorry for his detention, as it had given him an opportunity of ſtudying the temper of that capricious people in their own country. I have heard him ſay a hundred times, that a Briton was the riddle of human nature; he would ſay, it is eaſy to diſcern what the bulk of the nation is, but there is no knowing the individuals. According to him, a definition may be given of the Engliſh in ge-

general, but it is impoſſible to ſay what an Engliſhman is.

Vienna, Berlin, and Verſailles, were buſied in the ſame plans which had been concerted in the council, when an unforeſeen event brought on ſome change in the diſpoſitions. Charles VII. that unfortunate emperor, who had not known a moment's quiet on the auguſt throne of the Cæſars, died. If it be nature only which can make men happy, he was of all men the moſt miſerable. He had long laboured under great pains and ſufferings from the badneſs of his conſtitution; and ambition, which is ever the predominant diſtemper in ſovereigns, added to his bodily pains: amidſt his infirmities, all his thoughts were about ſecuring himſelf on a throne, which the ill ſtate of his health was ſoon to deprive him of. Many were the viciſſitudes of his reign. He was once very near being without a place to hide his head. He has often been obliged to quit his capital, and ſhift

his abode; ſo that the ſucceſſor of the maſters of the world was ſometimes without either houſe or home.

He was paid by France for being Emperor. He had an allowance of ſix millions of livres to ſupport a rank which, for that very reaſon, did not belong to him. They who are acquainted with the cauſes of the riſe and fall of houſes, ſay, that the misfortunes of that of Bavaria were owing to its alliance with that of Bourbon; and this, it ſeems, will ever be the caſe of petty ſtates uniting with the greater.

On the deceaſe of Charles VII. France looked out for an Emperor in Germany; for that Charles's ſon could quietly ſucceed his father, was impoſſible. He was not of a proper age; neither had he the means to maintain himſelf on the Imperial throne, even had there been an intention to place him on it: yet was he thought of, but no farther than in appearance; it was only a feigned ſcheme. A very

ſenſible man was lately ſaying to me, There is a meanneſs in princes which I cannot forgive: they feign to wiſh what they do not intend, and yet act as if they did intend it. This duplicity has coſt the lives of multitudes of brave men, and ruins the commonwealth.

Some fruitleſs ſtrokes were again ſtruck for inſuring the Imperial ſceptre to a Prince, who was known not to be able to keep it; but the young Elector, with more wiſdom than his father, renounced a throne on which his allies could not maintain him, and thereby did more good to France, than could have accrued to her from the moſt happy ſucceſſes of her policy.

A tender was then made to the King of Poland; and in this choice, France had the advantage of detaching from the houſe of Auſtria a powerful Sovereign. It has been ſaid that the Elector of Saxony declined the empire: but Marſhal Belleiſle told

told me, that he could not accept of it, and that he saw the impracticability of such a thing, on the very first mention made to him of it. A King of Poland, Emperor of Germany, would have thrown all the northern courts into a flame; and this double Monarch would have had as many wars on his hands, as there were then Sovereigns in Germany. Thus seeing the impossibility of such an acquisition, he made a merit with the Queen of Hungary of his inability, entering into a closer alliance with her, for placing the great Duke of Tuscany, her spouse, on the throne of the Cæsars. Could it be thought that policy was no motive herein, the King of Poland might be accounted a Prince of eminent probity. He had a defensive treaty with the Queen of Hungary, so that he sacrificed his ambition to that alliance; a very rare procedure in the history of sovereigns!

The Prince of Soubise, talking over these matters

matters with me, ſaid, that the irregularity of the treaties in Germany, after the death of Charles VII. had forced France to be more regular in its conduct relating to the northern affairs; and ever ſince it has kept itſelf to a defenſive war, which certainly was its only proper policy.

Germany being left to itſelf, Flanders became the ſeat of action. Maurice had prepared every thing there for one of thoſe bold ſtrokes which determine the deſtiny of ſtates. He laid ſiege to Tournay, the King himſelf being preſent in perſon; this ſiege endangered Holland, which on this occaſion was eager for coming to blows.

It was with aſtoniſhment I read in the annals of thoſe times, that this tribe of merchants, who have no thoughts beyond trade and parſimony, ſhould now have been the firſt in calling for a battle, the loſs of which might have been fatal to the republic.

The

The battle of Fontenoy was fought, and the allies loſt it. This victory has made a great noiſe in the world; but by the detail which a general officer at my deſire gave me of it, I do not find it to be one of thoſe events which greatly heighten a nation's glory.

The French army was much more numerous than the allies, and both the King and Dauphin were preſent; the preſence of theſe two Princes, thus eye-witneſſes of the bravery of their troops, created a ſecond courage, which in gaining victories goes farther than the firſt: the magazines were full; the ſoldiers wanted for nothing; the houſhold-troops were there; and the whole was commanded by an experienced general, whom the troops idolized, as capable of the greateſt enterprizes: the Princes of the blood, the Dukes, Peers, and almoſt all the nobility of the kingdom, fought along with the ſoldiery, ſharing their dangers and glory; in

in a word, the whole French monarchy was preſent at Fontenoy. If, with all theſe advantages, the allies had got the better, there would have been an end of the monarchy; for the enemy was marching to the gates of Paris. I am far from intending here to leſſen the glory of Marſhal Saxe, who conducted the action.

He has often given me an account of it ſince the peace, and I find that here, tho' then very low in health, he ſurpaſſed himſelf. His thoughts were every where, and he remedied every thing: whatever an able commander could do, he really performed. Some perſons of the trade, however, have affirmed to me, that very great faults were committed that day; and that to repair them, it was frequently neceſſary to diſobey the General's orders. The Duke de Biron took on himſelf to keep the poſt of Antoin, though he had been expreſsly ordered to quit it. But in my opinion, one

of

of the moſt conſiderable was, leaving the King and the Dauphin, during the whole action, on the ſpot where they had placed themſelves. A general rout, and this rout was two or three times very near happening, would have expoſed France to the worſt of misfortunes.

It has been ſaid in ſeveral hiſtories, that the Marſhal was ſo confident of gaining the battle, that he made no doubt of it; but he has often told me himſelf, that two or three times he apprehended it loſt, and that he had always doubted of the victory till the houſhold had charged. One evident proof of his uncertainty was, his ſending two or three times to the King to withdraw.

I was extremely uneaſy about this important event, when a letter was brought me from his Majeſty. I opened it with trembling hands, and found it as follows:

From

From the camp at Fontenoy, an hour after the battle.

" Madam,

" I ſaw all loſt, till Marſhal Saxe re-
" trieved all: he has ſurpaſſed himſelf in
" this action; my troops fought with in-
" vincible courage; the houſhold eſpecially
" performed wonders; I owe the victory
" to that corps. The French nobleſſe
" fought under my eye; it was with plea-
" ſure I beheld their heroic valour."

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Theſe three lines were in cyphers.

This letter was very acceptable, and removed all my fears.

From the time of the King's departure from France, I had often converſe with the Abbe de Bernis, who had been recommended to me to keep me company during the King's abſence.

He

He had been introduced into the great world by women; for he had all thoſe little talents with which our ſex are ſo taken, compliance, affability, genteel ways, ſuppleneſs, gaiety, fluency of ſpeech, a ſmooth tongue, a pretty knack at verſifying, and all thoſe qualities ſet off with a very handſome perſon.

This Abbe was never at a loſs for well-turned compliments to the ladies, ſo that he was always welcome among the ſex. As in our firſt converſations he never dropt the leaſt intimation about preferment; I imagined that, at laſt, I had met with a truly worthy perſon, one whoſe noble ſoul ſoared above riches and honour. But I was miſtaken; this Abbe was eaten up with a deſire of court diſtinction, concealing an unbounded ambition under a hypocritical diſintereſtedneſs. His apartment, as I have been informed, was, as it were, a perfect warehouſe of memoirs; ſome related to the

farms

farms of the revenues, others to œconomy, ſome concerning war, ſome the navy, and others the finances. He had a wonderful readineſs at forming projects. He could ſcheme any thing he had a mind to.

The action of Fontenoy led the way to other conqueſts in Auſtrian Flanders, and the Flemings every where received Lewis XV. with the loudeſt acclamations. I have read in moſt of the revolutions of the world, that the people greatly rejoice at a change of maſters.

This victory cauſed a general revolution; the Germans and Engliſh determined to break into the kingdom. They made their way by Provence and Bretagne, but they only ſhewed themſelves. The Auſtrians paſſed the Var, and then repaſſed it. The Engliſh landed and returned to their ſhips. Our modern hiſtory is full of theſe military follies. Poſterity will ever be at a loſs why General Sin-

Sinclair, who commanded in this expedition, after bringing a French city to capitulate, moved off without reaping the fruits of the capitulation.

They who ſhall read the annals of our age, will ſcarce believe that the cabinets of Europe could have committed ſo many faults, and that the Generals of armies could have fallen into ſo many errors.

The Genoeſe, who had introduced the Spaniards into Italy, were forſaken by them; ſo that the ſtate of Genoa was invaded by the Auſtrians, who even made themſelves maſters of the capital. They firſt required of the Genoeſe what money they had, and after ſtripping them, demanded ſtill more.

In the mean time the German army was in purſuit of the French and Spaniards, and croſſing the Var after them, took poſt in Provence. Botta, in whoſe care the city had been left, and who was

at

at St. Peter des Arenes, forgot that he had no army to keep it, and that what remained in that ſuburb, was only a ſickly half-dead multitude; the conſequence of which was a ſudden revolution, too ſtrong for him to ſuppreſs.

The Genoeſe, whom a large army had awed into ſubmiſſion, recovered their freedom on its departure. Here Botta was guilty of a great overſight; he propoſed to the ſenate to join him againſt the rebels, as he called them, not perceiving that they underhand encouraged the inſurrection: they readily promiſed to act in concert with him; but this was only to give the people time to gather and unite their ſtrength: it was too late when the general came to be aware of their deſign; he fled with ſuch precipitancy, as to leave all his magazines behind.

The King ſhewed me a letter ſent to court from a Genoeſe Senator, giving a particular account of the whole tranſaction;

tion; the beginning, progreſs, and end of the ſcheme laid for ſhaking off the Auſtrian yoke. The great council had for ſome time ſecretly promoted it. It was not ſetting the Genoeſe to draw cannon, which occaſioned its revolution; it might indeed haſten the execution of it; but the plan had been concerted long before: thus is poſterity often miſled in hiſtories, attributing to accident what was the effect of premeditated deſign.

This deliverance was attended with another happineſs to Genoa; it had at that time no citizen who could have deprived the Republic of its liberty. The juncture was extremely favourable; the people had got the whole power of the ſtate into their hands. Now I have heard our politicians ſay, that on ſuch junctures, giving money, and granting privileges, will carry every point.

This revolution, which ſeemed only a private concern, changed the ſyſtem of general

general affairs. The Auſtrians, who intended to beſiege Toulon, and lay Marſeilles under contribution, were obliged to repaſs the Var, for want both of ſhelter and proviſions.

The court of Vienna, inflamed at this event, blocked up Genoa, and threatened the inhabitants with the ſevereſt treatment, if they did not immediately ſurrender; but the Genoeſe, being ſupported by the French, made a vigorous reſiſtance, without being intimidated by menaces; and Boufflers, and afterwards the Duke de Richlieu, were ſent to command there. M. Maurepas has often told me, that it was a great overſight in the Engliſh, who blocked up Genoa by ſea, in not having a number of flat-bottomed boats to hinder any French ſuccours from getting into Genoa.

This precaution would have changed the whole diſpoſition of affairs in Italy. Genoa, then incapable of any further re-

 ſiſtance,

ſiſtance, muſt have ſurrendered to the Auſtrians, and the Infant Don Philip, the ſubject of the war, would never have ſeen Parma and Placentia.

Lewis XV. after taking ſeven fine cities in Flanders, returned to Paris; and it may be ſaid that never was ſuch joy diſplayed in that city, as at the ſight of this Prince; every ſtreet rang with ſhouts of gladneſs and applauſe.

Amidſt the many checks which England had met with in Flanders, the Pretender conveyed himſelf into Scotland. As he had neither armies nor ſhips, ſome courtiers ſaid, *he had ſwam thither.* It was not very difficult to foreſee the iſſue of this enterprize, every ſtep and circumſtance of it being irregular. A very intelligent man told me at that time, that the moſt fortunate thing which could happen to the Pretender, would be to get out of Scotland as clandeſtinely as he got in: but he was a young man, rather

rather fond of executing his projects in a ſingular manner, than concerned about the ſucceſs of them.

This enterprize, however ill conducted, had one advantage for Verſailles, that it cauſed a diverſion in England. France has always made uſe of the houſe of Stuart for its private views. I am ſorry that George II. who wanted neither courage nor firmneſs, ſhould have ſhewn any uneaſineſs at it. An Engliſh nobleman told me, that he cauſed the London militia to take an oath, that they did not in any-wiſe believe that the pope had ever a right of cauſing Princes to be murdered. He alſo had the records of Rocheſter ſearched for the form of the excommunication anciently denounced by the Popes, to ſtimulate the Engliſh againſt the ſee of Rome. I would not have Princes ſtoop to trifles, which always betray a weak mind; a prince on the throne ſhould act with magnanimity.

The Pretender publiſhed a manifeſto in vindication of his rights, addreſſed to the people of England; but this manifeſto contained only empty words, whilſt George had on his ſide troops and cannon.

Marſhal Belleiſle more than once took notice to me of a remarkable paſſage in this manifeſto. Prince Edward there owns that the houſe of Stuart loſt the Engliſh throne in ſome meaſure by its own fault, and promiſes amendment. *If*, ſays he, *the complaints formerly brought againſt our family did take their riſe from ſome errors in our adminiſtration; it has ſufficiently expiated them.*—Young Edward took poſſeſſion of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, in his father's name, declaring himſelf regent. For England well and good; but thus to make a king of France, was too haſty. Thoſe titles, however, reſting on no ſurer grounds than the poſſeſſion, as quickly diſappeared.

At

At this time France endeavoured to keep the Dutch neuter; both courts publiſhed manifeſtoes, and the miniſters negociated: but this project of neutrality produced only a freſh paper war. The Abbe de la Ville preſented memorials drawn up with great pomp and accuracy of ſtile, and he was anſwered with an elegant conciſeneſs; but fighting ſtill went on.

The face of affairs in Germany had changed; the King of Pruſſia acknowleged the Great Duke of Tuſcany Emperor, and made his peace with the houſe of Auſtria. I have often heard a ſmart ſaying of Marſhal Belleiſle on this head. *I very well knew*, ſaid he, *that this man, who is ſo fond of war, would incline to peace on the firſt opportunity to his advantage.*

M. Soubiſe more than once ſaid to me, *That Monarch would have owned the Pope for Emperor, had any Sovereign in Germany*

given him only a hundred ſquare acres of land. This peace was ſo far advantageous to France, as it diminiſhed the power of the houſe of Auſtria. Apparently Italy alone would be the ſufferer, as it was to be ſuppoſed that the Queen of Hungary, being quite at leiſure in Germany, would be for fighting on the other ſide the Alps. She ſent reinforcements to the Low Countries, which, however, could not hinder Marſhal Saxe from taking Bruſſels. It was then that Lewis XV. to compleat the conqueſt of Auſtrian Flanders, ſet out to command the army in perſon.

Our progreſſes were very rapid; the King's preſence, and the ſoldiers confidence in Marſhal Saxe's abilities, made every thing eaſy. It was otherwiſe with the Pretender in Scotland, who fled before the enemy, and at length loſt a deciſive battle againſt the Duke of Cumberland.

In

In theſe circumſtances it was that M. d'Argenſon wrote, though indirectly, to the Engliſh government, in favour of young Edward. A man of wit has ſince ſhewed me how extremely ridiculous this was; for had there been a deſign that Edward ſhould not out-live his temerity, a better method could not have been invented for having him made away with.

That miniſter repreſented him to the court as a relation of the King's, for whoſe perſon and qualities this Monarch had the higheſt value. He inſiſted that King George was a Prince of too much equity, not to perceive the Pretender's ſon's merit. This manifeſto afterwards told the Engliſh, that they ought to admire him for thoſe qualities of an eminent patriot, which ſo conſpicuouſly ſhone in him. It then proceeded to the dangerous conſequences which might reſult to England, from any

ſevere treatment to young Edward, &c. They did not ſee that this declaration muſt have produced a quite contrary effect to that propoſed. The Pretender's crime was not his coming over to Scotland, but in being France's ally. Conſiſtent people ſaid, either Prince Edward is a rebel, or King George is an uſurper; and Sovereigns ſhould not countenance rebels, nor ſolicit uſurpers.

The invention of this interceſſory letter is fathered on a Cardinal, who being a member of the ſacred college, was for ſecuring the Pretender's retreat; whereas it was the very way to obſtruct it. Accordingly England, making no account of this manifeſto, ſet a price on his head, and ſome Lords who had taken up arms for him, were publicly beheaded.

Whilſt all the Princes of Europe were at war together, their miniſters were repairing to Breda, to negociate a peace. This

This neceſſarily increaſed the buſineſs of cabinets, having both military and pacific operations on the carpet. The dearth of miniſters ſtill continued in France; none could be found capable of healing the public misfortunes. M. d'Argenſon, who had the foreign affairs, only increaſed the confuſion. They were committed to M. de Puyſieux, who was then at Breda, where he was ordered to feign great zeal and aſſiduity in bringing about a definitive treaty; this was only a feint, he was in reality employed at Verſailles. On his nomination, he ſaid to the King, *Sire, I will do all I can, but I beg your Majeſty to believe that I cannot work miracles.*

Marſhal Saxe humorouſly ſaid, *None but a ſaint or a devil can ſet the French adminiſtration right.* This gave occaſion to a courtier afterwards to ſay, that we muſt be without friends, both in hell and heaven; this ſo much wanted

ſaint or devil having not yet made his appearance in France.

Marſhal Belleiſle, having driven the Auſtrians out of Provence, returned to Verſailles, to give the King an account of his operations. He had a ſtrange paſſion for ſignal projects; and he propoſed ſeveral to his Majeſty, the leaſt of which was to deliver Genoa, to make Spain miſtreſs of the greater part of Italy, and ſtrip the King of Sardinia of all his dominions, &c.

He was ſent again to Provence, where the ſum of his exploits amounted only to the taking of the ſmall caſtle of Saint Margaret's iſland. A man of genius was lately ſaying to me, that if good chimerical projects, and imaginary plans, made a man great, M. Belleiſle was indiſputably the greateſt man in Europe.

In the mean time Holland, having created a Stadtholder, determined on the con-

continuance of the war. I ſaw that Lewis XV. was manifeſtly affected with this news, whether from a concern for his people, or that the elevation of the Prince of Orange diſconcerted his projects. He ſaid in my preſence to a courtier, *Theſe Dutchmen are terrible folks; I wiſh their republic was a thouſand leagues from any of my frontiers; it gives me more trouble than all the reſt of Europe put together.*

France having now no hopes of bringing the United Provinces to a neutrality, thought of invading them; and politicians ſaid, that it was the only way left to reſtore the balance in Europe, which had been loſt by the continual advantages of the Engliſh at ſea.

Effectual meaſures were taken for the invaſion. The King won the battle of Lafeldt. At the ſame time it was determined to beſiege Bergen-op-Zoom. This expedition was committed to

count Lowendahl, who merrily promiſed to make a preſent of it to the King on St. Lewis's day. Bergen op-Zoom was taken, which threw the Dutch into the greateſt conſternation, as they had all imagined the carrying of that place to be an impoſſibility. This event ſhewed, that in war there is no ſuch thing as certainty, its operations being ever ſubject to the caprice and inconſtancy of fortune.

The congreſs at Breda was removed to Aix-la-Chapelle; but the courts ſtill continued planning ſieges and battles. Whilſt the plenipotentiaries were ſettling the preliminaries, the levies for freſh troops went on with all poſſible vigour, and France prepared for war more than ever; but the difficulty was to procure ſoldiers. It has been affirmed to me, that there were large country-towns in France, which could not furniſh ſo much as one militia-man; ſo that it became neceſſary to make the married men carry arms,

arms, though this was hurting poſterity. All manner of taxes and impoſts were alſo contrived to ſupply the want of money. M. Machault, comptroller-general, who had ſucceeded M. Orry, propoſed expedients, but all of a very deſtructive tendency. The parliament clamoured, and openly declared in its repreſentations, that if all the edicts concerning the finances took place, as propoſed, the kingdom was undone; but it received for anſwer, that great evils required great remedies; and this ſilenced it.

At length a way being opened into Holland, by the taking of Bergen-op-Zoom, and Marſhal Saxe threatening to put an end to the republic; on the other hand, the ſouthern provinces of France being reduced to a ſtarving condition; this, with other circumſtances, diſpoſed the ſeveral powers to ſign preliminaries of peace, which was ſoon followed by a definitive treaty. Such a ſituation of things pro-

promoted the public tranquility more than all the ſtudied harangues of the plenipotentiaries at Aix-la-Chapelle.

I had the treaty read to me at Verſailles; all the articles appeared very ſuitable to the preſent ſtate of Europe, except that of Canada. It ſeemed to me that the appointing commiſſioners to ſettle that great affair, would only perplex it the more. I ſpoke of it to Marſhal Belleiſle, who told me that article was a ſtate ſecret: we could have given it another turn, but this is beſt for us; it leaves things in America as they are, and we have twenty Savage nations in Canada who will revenge our loſs. This revenge ſome years after coſt us the game.

The Prince de Soubiſe told me ſome time after, that this peace had been a child of neceſſity; that there was not one of all the ſigning Princes, who could not have wiſhed that the war had continued.

tinued. Yet I can take upon me to ſay, that the King of France was of a different mind. He was viſibly more gay than uſual, and the great joy of his heart diſplayed itſelf in his countenance.

Thus at length the public calamities were ſuſpended. Genoa, which under the Duke de Richlieu had continued to defend itſelf againſt the Germans, grounded its arms. The Spaniards and French, after being in continual action to ſettle Don Philip in Italy, diſcontinued their operations; and it was agreed that every thing ſhould remain quiet till the publication of the definitive treaty. I longed for it more than any miniſter in Europe. The King had no quiet; the concerns of his crown and perſonal glory kept him in Flanders, and took up all his thoughts, never returning to Verſailles till the campaign was quite over. My private ſatisfaction I could have willingly ſacrificed to the happineſs

neſs of the ſtate, but ſieges and battles only encreaſed the public diſtreſſes.

New lotteries and new taxes were eſtabliſhed to raiſe the means for ſigning the peace; thus the public eaſe began with draining them to the laſt drop.

The Pretender's ſon, who ſeemed quite forgotten, now makes his appearance again. Concluding, as he well might, that nobody would think of him at the congreſs of Aix-la-Chapelle; he began by proteſting againſt every thing which ſhould be done there. So little regard was paid to the manifeſto which he cauſed to be ſet up, that all parties ſigned without minding his proteſtations. To this oppoſition he added another ſtill more extravagant at Paris, refuſing to comply even with the King's expreſs orders.

One of the firſt articles laid down between England and France, had been, that the Chevalier de St. George's ſon

ſhould

ſhould quit the kingdom. Lewis XV. ſeveral times ſignified to him the indiſpenſable neceſſity he was under of adhering to the agreement. Prince Edward plainly told thoſe who firſt mentioned the King's pleaſure to him, that he would not comply. I have often heard the excuſe he gave for this refractorineſs. *The King of France*, ſaid he, *promiſed me that I ſhould always find an aſylum in his dominions; for this I have his ſign manual in my pocket. A Prince who has a ſenſe of honour, knows what obligations his word lays him under, and how greatly he expoſes himſelf in violating it.*

He treated with the King of France as with a private gentleman. He forgot that Sovereigns may fail in their word, without any breach in their honour, the good of their people ſo requiring. The Pretender's ſon was taken into cuſtody, as he was going to the opera. Strange reverſe of fortune! On his arrival in France,

France, he had been received with great joy, and marks of conſideration. I was ſomething concerned for this young Prince's fate, and dropped a word or two about him to the King, who anſwered me with ſome heat, *What would you have me do, Madam? Should I continue the war with all Europe for Prince Edward? England will not allow him to be in my dominions; it was only on this condition, that ſhe came into the peace. Should I have broke off the conference at Aix-la-Chapelle, and diſtreſſed my people more and more, becauſe the Pretender's ſon is for living at Paris?*

It muſt be owned that this Prince ſhewed an obſtinacy beyond example. The King ſent all Paris to repreſent to him the ſtate of affairs, and expreſs the concern it gave him, that he was obliged to remove him from his court. Though theſe meſſages were delivered to him in the King's name, his anſwers were ſo many menaces. The Count de Maure-

pas

pas ſpoke to him on this occaſion, in the following words:

" It is with the greateſt grief that the " King ſees himſelf obliged to deſire " your Highneſs to quit his dominions. " I come in his name to aſſure you that " no other conſideration than the welfare " of his ſubjects would have prevailed " on him to take this ſtep. You would " have ſeen him inflexibly ſupporting " your claim, had not the unhappy turn " of the war laid him under a neceſſity " of yielding to the preſent juncture. " The greateſt Monarchs cannot always " do as they would. There are critical " ſeaſons where policy requires them to " be pliant. Your Highneſs knows that; " ſince the unhappy time when the " Stuart family loſt the crown of Eng- " land, the Bourbon family has made ſe- " veral efforts for their reſtoration. You " ought to take his intentions kindly, " rather than blame his inability. I

" wiſh

" wiſh you had been witneſs to his con-
" verſation with me, when he called
" me into his cloſet to give me his or-
" ders, by which I was to ſignify to you
" his deſire that you will quit the king-
" dom; it muſt have affected you.
" He ſincerely laments your ſituation,
" but he cannot turn the tide of fate;
" and ſhould you force him to take
" violent meaſures, it would give him
" the deepeſt concern.

" Lewis XV. has ſent me to you, not
" as a King, not as a maſter, but as an
" ally, and as a friend; and, what is more,
" he directed me to aſk it of you as a
" favour, that you would leave his do-
" minions."

Prince Edward was very laconic in his anſwer, drawing a piſtol out of his pocket, and vowing to ſhoot the firſt man that ſhould offer to lay hands on him. The archbiſhop of Paris likewiſe conjured him in the name of God and the

Pope,

Pope, but with no greater effect; religion had no more weight with him than polities, ſo that the extremity which the King would have avoided, became neceſſary. The Chevalier de St. George's ſon was arreſted as he was going to the opera.

The enemies of France failed not to exclaim againſt this violence, exaggerating it with the moſt odious appellations.

On ſearching his houſe, it was found turned into an Arſenal. He had arms enough to ſtand a ſiege in form. It was talked at court that he had determined to fight ſingly himſelf againſt a whole regiment, and then ſet fire to a barrel of powder, which communicated with others, and thus blow up himſelf, with all that belonged to him. The King, on being told this, ſaid, "A very "ill-timed bravery, indeed!"

The peace, however, ſpread an univerſal joy through all ranks. There were only

only two men in the kingdom who were not satisfied with it, the Marshals Saxe and Lowendahl. The former expressed his discontent to the secretary of war in this manner: "After the battle of Fontenoy, said he, we were in a fair way "of making ourselves masters of Holland, and putting an end to that troublesome republic; for these merchants, "with their shipping and their wealth, are "the mischief-makers of Europe; they "are the necessary allies of our natural "enemies the English. The great work "of their destruction was nearly finished; why did we not go through with "it? If we again give the republicans "time to fortify themselves, they will "be as daring as before; and the time "may come when France with all "its forces will not be able to bring "them to reason. Destroying Holland "is cutting off England's right arm; "and every body knows, that all

"France's

" France's policy ſhould center in weak-
" ening Great Britain.

" Of what conſequence has the victory
" of Fontenoy been? What is France
" the better for the taking of Bergen-
" op-Zoom? All thoſe efforts of cou-
" rage, all the lives of ſo many
" gallant officers who fell in Flanders,
" were purely thrown away. If theſe
" places were to be reſtored, and
" the Dutch and the houſe of Auſtria
" to be put on the ſame footing as each
" of them was before the war, it had
" been much better there had been no
" war at all. France's giving back its
" conqueſts, was making war againſt her-
" ſelf; her very victories have ruined her;
" her enemies have retained all their for-
" mer ſtrength, whilſt ſhe alone has
" weakened herſelf. Her ſubjects are
" fewer by a million, and her finances
" reduced to little or nothing."

Theſe ſpeeches reaching the King's ears,

ears, he said, "I understand the language "of those generalissimos; they are for "ever dwelling on red-hot bullets."

The count de St. Severin d'Arragon, who had made the peace, undertook to demonstrate the fallacy of such reasonings; and the King has often repeated to me his arguments. "Sire, said he, the "conquest of Holland made no part of "the plan of this war. All France aim-"ed at, was to keep the Dutch from "declaring. The end of our many sieges "and battles, was not to destroy their "republic, but only to bring it to pa-"cific terms; so that in forcing them to "lay aside their arms, the council of "state's view is fully answered.

"Your Generals will have it, that after "the battle of Fontenoy, and the taking "of Bergen-op-Zoom, the United Pro-"vinces might easily have been over-"run, and the States-General have been "brought under the dominion of France.

"They

"They are miſtaken; the weapons of "deſpair are invincible. To compel a "people to the neceſſity of being con-"quered, is the ready way to loſe a con-"queſt. The ſovereignties once ſettled, "are no longer ſubject to deſtruction; "they are reciprocal counterpoizes; "ſhould only one fall under the power "of another, the whole balance of Eu-"rope would be deſtroyed. It is long "ſince war has afforded any of thoſe de-"ciſive blows, which, in the time of the "Romans, changed the face of the poli-"tical world. A province may be maſ-"tered, but the invading of kingdoms "is out of date.

"Granting, Sir, that the ardour of "your troops, breaking through the "common ways, had reduced Holland, "it would have been a conqueſt not "only uſeleſs, but have thrown France "into freſh troubles; all Europe, in a "body, would have declared war againſt

" you. The great powers, jealous of the " houſe of Bourbon, have long been " watching an opportunity of giving it " a deciſive blow.

" Right policy, inſtead of making a " noiſe, ſilently takes a bye-way to its " ends; let us inſenſibly weaken the " Dutch, but never think of deſtroying " them. They are a barrier againſt the " great northern powers. They ſecure us " from the incurſions of the Germans, " whom the Romans themſelves could " not check, and who at laſt over- " threw the empire of the Cæſars.

" But a great deal is ſaid about the " eaſineſs of our conquering, and not a " word how eaſy it was to conquer us. " What induced me, Sire, to put the " finiſhing hand to the great work of the " peace, is the diſorder of the finances, " the depopulation of the ſtate, and the " ſcarcity of proviſions.

" The

"The Comptroller-general has acquainted me that he knows not where "to find any more money. The intendants of the provinces have wrote "to the war-office, that it is utterly impoſſible to raiſe another militia; to "which the intendant of Guienne adds, "that in his province the people are "ſtarving; thoſe, Sire, were my motives "for haſtening the concluſion of the "peace."

Theſe reaſons, however, did not prevail with the great men of the army, who ſtill wanted to be fighting. They were big with hopes, which the peace ſeemed to quaſh. I remember Lewis XV. one day talking on this ſubject, ſaid to me, *that he had not a general officer in his troops who cared what became of the ſtate, if he could but get a Marſhal's ſtaff.*

The King, who had rewarded Marſhal Saxe, did not forget the Count St. Severin, making him a miniſter of ſtate.

This Count, though not a great genius, had good rational ſenſe, which he made to anſwer as well as a ſuperior underſtanding. He was ſlow in buſineſs, but ſure; and his phlegmatic diſpoſition was better adapted to ſurmount thoſe difficulties, which ever put fervid and eager minds to a full ſtand. He was a ſtranger to agitations; his paſſions moved in ſubordination to political laws. Reſentment, anger, ſallies of paſſion, ſpirit of party, with all the other prepoſſeſſing foibles which ruled moſt miniſters, were never ſeen in him. Thoſe he uſed to call the reverſe of the medal of plenipotentiaries. In a negociation he moved ſtraight on to his drift, without ſtopping by the way. He had a natural love for peace, and thus the more chearfully applied himſelf to forward a definitive treaty.

M. de Belleiſle told me, that he found one great fault in him, which was the

want of a proper regard to military men, however illuſtrious by their rank or merit; for after all, added he, there is no making a good peace but by dint of victories; and it is the general, and not the plenipotentiary, who gains battles.

France however was quite ſpent; the means made uſe of for ſupporting the war had been ſo violent as to break all the ſprings of power. The miniſters complained greatly of the ſtate of France, and openly ſaid, at the peace, that they did not know where to begin the adminiſtration.

Paris is not the place where the general diſtreſs moſt manifeſts itſelf. The luxury, ſuch as it is, prevailing there conceals the public indigence. There poverty itſelf appears in embroidery and ribbons, whilſt in all the other parts of France it goes quite bare. The court had written into the provinces for a report of the ſtate of things. M. de Belle-

iſle has ſhewn me ſeveral memoirs of thoſe times, tranſmitted to Verſailles by the intendants of the provinces. The tenour of the firſt was this:

"My Lord,

"You aſk me for a ſtate of "the finances in this province; that is "ſoon done: there are none. I don't "believe that the whole province could "produce a hundred thouſand livres "in ſpecie: the poverty is ſo general, "that all diſtinction of ranks is at an "end. The louis d'ors are like to be- "come ſcarce pieces, ſo as ſoon to be "ſeen only in the cabinets of the cu- "rious."

The other is from the intendant of a province naturally very fertile, but which could not be cultivated for want of money. His report to the miniſter was as follows:

"My Lord,

"There is no repreſenting to your "Excellency the preſent diſtreſs of this "pro-

" province; the land yields little or no-
" thing; moſt of the farmers, unable to
" live by the produce of their farms,
" have quitted them; ſome are gone a
" begging, others have liſted in the
" army, and not a few have eſcaped into
" foreign countries; the gentry and nobi-
" lity are little better off, being put to
" the utmoſt difficulty to anſwer the taxes
" and impoſitions on them.

"Of fifteen hundred thouſand acres
" of arable land, which uſed to ſupport
" this people, at preſent ſix hundred lie
" fallow; what a diminution this muſt be
" to the general ſubſiſtence, your Excel-
" lency readily ſees. A village which,
" before the war, ſupported fifteen hun-
" dred inhabitants, can now ſcarce ſup-
" port ſix hundred; and a particular fa-
" mily, which was able to feed ſix chil-
" dren, and as many labourers, can now
" provide food only for five. The cattle
" are diminiſhed no leſs than the men,

" ſo as not to be ſufficient for tillage ;
" and in moſt of the villages men do the
" work of oxen.

" I have traced this calamity to its
" ſource, and I find the evil proceeds from
" the general want of caſh : to prevent
" the conſequences of this diminution, I
" could wiſh that the court would be
" pleaſed to advance to this province, by
" way of loan, the ſum of fifteen hun-
" dred thouſand livres, to be geometri-
" cally diſtributed among the induſtrious
" poor. This, in my opinion, is the
" only remedy left to avert greater
" evils."

The third of theſe memoirs was from another intendant, who paints the depopulation in theſe ſad colours.

" My Lord,

" The king's ſubjects are daily
" decreaſing in this province ; it
" will ſoon be without inhabitants.
" Having directed the pariſh-prieſts to
" bring in liſts of the chriſtenings and
" burials,

" burials, I find that the number of the
" dead exceeds that of the living; ſo
" that, ſhould this depopulation go on
" twenty years longer, and God continues
" my life during that time, by my calcu-
" lation, I ſhall be the only living crea-
" ture, of the human ſpecies, in this pro-
" vince. Fifteen years before the laſt re-
" volution of the finances, this diſtrict
" contained fifteen hundred thouſand
" ſouls, and now if there are nine hun-
" dred thouſand, it is the moſt. Yet
" how, my Lord, can it be otherwiſe?
" Of fifty of the king's ſubjects, ſcarce
" two have any thing of a ſubſiſtence;
" the others muſt neceſſarily periſh. A
" marriage is ſeldom heard of; ſo that all
" the new-born children are the fruits of
" debauchery.

" I cannot point out any remedy to
" theſe diſtreſſes. In the preſent criſis
" of the monarchy, it is God alone who
" can reſcue it out of the abyſs into

" which the misfortunes of the times " have caſt it."

The fourth was from a ſea-port, whoſe deputy thus delivered himſelf before the miniſtry.

" Trade, which had been declining " for ſeveral years, is now fallen into a " total ſtagnation. Our ſhips lie in the " harbours, uſeleſs both to the ſtate and " their owners. We have little or no- " thing for exportation; the produce of " the country ſcarce affords a very ſcanty " ſubſiſtence; and our manufactures are " at the loweſt ebb. All our trade is in " the hands of the Engliſh and Dutch.

" Moſt of our monied men, who fitted " out privateers, have been ruined by the " war; others ſo reduced, that inſtead of " ten ſhips, which they uſed to have at ſea, " they find it difficult to have one: both " ſeas are covered with foreign fleets, " ſo that the white flag begins to be for- " gotten.

" All

"All other nations are carriers to "France, whereas France carries for "none. This general ſtagnation ani- "mates others, and throws our marine "into a fatal lethargy, &c. &c. &c."

The navy has been utterly ruined, all the ſhips being taken by the Engliſh, except a few unſerviceable ones in the harbours; and the funds appointed for fitting out a fleet are exhauſted; but had there been no want of money, ſeamen were wanting; moſt of them had died in Engliſh priſons, and they who eſcaped the enemy periſhed by diſtreſs. It was impoſſible for France, being thinned of men, to furniſh ſeamen.

M. Belleiſle, who interfered in every branch of government, ſaid one day to the King, in my hearing, *Sire, ſhould all the powers of Europe declare war againſt you, I engage to raiſe in your dominions a hundred and fifty thouſand ſoldiers, who ſhould keep them all at bay; but were I to*

fight an Engliſh fleet of a hundred ſhips of the line, where I ſhould get twenty thouſand ſeamen, I know not.

Another misfortune, beyond any remedy, was the neceſſary reduction of the troops. A hundred and fifty thouſand ſubjects, who had fought for the crown, at the peace came to want bread: moſt of them, though they had been huſbandmen before the war, were now no longer ſo. I have ſeveral times heard the Marſhall de Noailles ſay, that a countryman, leaving the plough for the muſket, is very ſeldom known to take to it when diſcharged; and he uſed to add, that on a hundred thouſand huſbandmen quitting their labour, a hundred thouſand others muſt labour to provide them bread, otherwiſe a famine, and the ruin of the ſtate, muſt be the conſequence.

Some regulations were made to prevent the diſorders to be apprehended from theſe reduced troops; but the remedy

medy was more dangerous than the diſeaſe.

Of all the incumbrances, that of the military rewards were the greateſt; money was required to pay the bravery of the officers in ready caſh, for the military gentlemen are moſt impatient creditors. Formerly a St. Lewis's croſs ſufficed, but it has ſince appeared to the officers, that a yearly ſum gives a greater luſtre to gallant actions.

Above ten thouſand different penſions were ſettled on the Exchequer. A churchman who, at my deſire, uſed ſometimes to read to me the memorials on this head delivered to me for the king, would often ſay, that the glory accompanying fine actions muſt be of very little value in France, as the gentlemen of the army would not take it for a reward. The archbiſhop of Paris likewiſe uſed to ſay, that victories coſt the ſtate more than defeats.

The

The claimants would set forth their services with an arrogant modesty, which gave great offence to the court; especially they who had lost a limb were quite insupportable. One of these gentlemen (it was indeed after several journies to court to obtain a pension) said to me before several foreign ministers, *Madam, since the King cannot give me an arm, which I have lost in his service, he should at least give me money.*

Once an officer being come express with the news of the loss of a battle in Germany, the king said, *Thank God, this time I shan't be teazed about rewards.* He was mistaken; for fifteen hundred officers, who had escaped the slaughter, came to Versailles, clamouring to be paid only for the great service of their being present at that action.

A lieutenant of grenadiers, to whom the secretary at war had procured a Saint Lewis's cross without a pension, said to him,

him, *Sir, your Excellency has tied to my button-hole the ſign of my courage, but you have forgot the reality of my bravery*, meaning that he wanted a penſion.

Some military men in France enjoy conſiderable incomes only for having been in five or ſix battles, whilſt the ſubjects of the ſtate have ruined themſelves in defraying the expences of the war. Thus do abuſes creep into the beſt foundations.

After ſettling the penſions, the next thing taken in hand was to retrieve the finances from the terrible diſorder into which they were fallen. They who underſtood the hiſtory of France affirmed, that for twenty reigns paſt the kingdom had never been ſo diſtreſſed; and the national debt being immenſe, a plan for the diſcharge of them became abſolutely neceſſary. A ſinking fund was projected, but when funds were to be appointed for the ſinking-fund, thoſe of the crown were found

found to be all mortgaged. I myſelf was a witneſs to his majeſty's great uneaſineſs, when the miniſters and counſellors of ſtate laid open to him the condition of things. *Gentlemen*, ſaid he to them, *you had better have adviſed me againſt the war, than to make it on ſuch burthenſome conditions.* Some taxes were taken off; but ſeveral impoſts, created for the charges of the war, were continued after the peace, &c. &c.

Such was the ſituation of France after the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The domeſtic affairs of the crown were in no better condition. The miniſters had, during the war, aſſumed an unlimited authority, made themſelves deſpotic in their offices, and behaved towards the ſubjects with that auſterity which is the reſult of uncontrouled power.

Whilſt all Europe was congratulating itſelf on the general peace, advice came

to Verſailles that the Engliſh were very angry with George the Second, for having agreed to the French propoſals. The parliament addreſſed him for a copy of the overtures for a general pacification, to be laid before the houſe.

Marſhal Saxe being preſent when this was related to the king, ſaid, *Sir, thoſe Engliſhmen muſt be very quarrelſome; they have made a peace with us, and having now no enemy, they are for quarrelling with their King.* I have heard very knowing politicians ſay, that the diviſions in Great Britain between the ſubjects and the Prince, are the baſis of the general tranquillity of Europe.

However, on the peace, the face of Verſailles was quite changed; that ſolicitous look which throws a ſhade even on diverſions was quite vaniſhed; the hurry of buſineſs had ceaſed, and the king was now come to himſelf. This tranquility of the court cauſed a great agitation in the city;

city; ſeveral women began to form deſigns on the King's heart.

Among theſe was one Madame la Poupeliniere, married to a financier, who had raiſed her from the dirt, from whence he himſelf likewiſe ſprung. They had a moſt delightful and ſplendid ſeat at Paſſy, which was always crowded with the worſt company.

I have been often told, that this woman would faint away whenever my name happened to be mentioned. She uſed to ſay, that I had thruſt myſelf into her rank at court, that I held her place about the king, and that all the honours paid to me at Verſailles, of right belonged to her. She would, at any rate, be Lewis the Fifteenth's miſtreſs.

This was a ſcheme put into her head by the Duke de Richelieu; mean time he practiſed on her heart, to give it a turn for tenderneſs. This intrigue was carried on with an air of myſtery. The

Duke

Duke uſed, at nights, to convey himſelf into the lady's chamber through an opening contrived in the chimney; and this opening Richelieu aſſured her ſhould, in no long time, conduct her to the little apartments of Verſailles. In the interim, this creature, to make herſelf more worthy of the Sovereign, proſtituted herſelf to one of his ſubjects; but a chamber-maid, in a fit of reſentment, diſcovered the whole myſtery. The financier, who had for ſome time wanted to get rid of his wife, gladly embraced this opportunity; he made the public witneſs to his infamy, ſo that all Paris flocked to ſee the ungrateful perfidy of this ambitious woman.

The gallant perhaps, now no leſs ſatiated than the huſband, made very light of the diſcovery; and came to Verſailles, not imagining that the court as yet knew any thing of the matter; but I had intelligence of his adventure an hour before

it

it was made public. The King was alone in my apartment when he came in; *Sir*, (said I to him) *there is not in all Europe a more close agent in amorous intrigues than his Grace of Richelieu there before you; for to be the more secret with the ladies whom he would bring acquainted with your Majesty, he visits them through the chimney.* The King asked me what I meant; I immediately unfolded the riddle to him, which set us a-laughing, and Richelieu himself laughed as much as any.

Other women likewise laid out for the little apartments at Versailles, and got into them without going under ground. Lewis XV. was very fond of these flighty amours, of which possession is both the beginning and end. But his humours did not in the least abate the affection with which he honoured me, always returning to me more constant than ever.

Since the peace, the Count de Maurepas took a pleasure in censuring every thing

thing that was done at court, and giving it a ridiculous turn. This miniſter had his private ſuppers like the King himſelf, and here it was where, every night, the crown was turned into drollery.

Several diſputes had paſſed between us ſince my living at Verſailles, and in which he had uſed me with much pride and haughtineſs; his paſſion made him forget his rank, and uſe words quite unbecoming ſuch a man as he. I ſlightly intimated it to the King, being unwilling to hurt a man who was of uſe to the ſtate.

It has been given out, that my very firſt deſign on my coming to Verſailles was to ſupplant this miniſter. Now that ſuch a thought ſhould have come into my mind, is not poſſible. The King, in giving me a character of his chief miniſters, ſpoke with great approbation of the Count de Maurepas, which alone was ſufficient to make me take a liking to

to him. But a close assiduity in dry and difficult affairs, for above thirty years successively, had extremely soured his temper, so that at times no body durst go near him. M. le Guai, his first clerk, told me, that in those moments he was bristled like a porcupine; his harshness infected his correspondence, scolding those who were a thousand leagues from him, and treating them without any regard to their rank and character. He wrote to the French consul, at one of the Levant ports, in the following manner:

"I order you, Sir, to write to me no "more, but repair to France in the first "ship; and come to Paris, where you "are to wait my orders, without appear-"ing at court. I am, &c."

His caustic temper mingled itself even with his feasts, and would break out even in the midst of pleasure and sociality. It was in these parties that he was most fluent

fluent and licentious in ſatire. I was one day informed, that he had ſpoken againſt me in very indecent terms, and had even brought in the King. I at firſt determined flatly to complain to his Majeſty, but on reflection I choſe to write to himſelf.

"*Sir, I am informed of your ſcandalous* "*ſpeeches concerning me, and even the King* "*your maſter. As for what you ſay of me,* "*it gives me no manner of concern; but I* "*cannot overlook any ſcurrility on the King.* "*I value his reputation; and be aſſured,* "*that if you do not alter your behaviour to-* "*ward him, I ſhall lay it before him, and* "*you muſt expect the puniſhment which ſuch* "*an offence deſerves. I am, &c.*"

All the effect of this letter was, that it increaſed his malignity towards me, ſaying to thoſe who were at ſupper with him; *Now, Gentlemen, my diſgrace is ſurely at hand, Pompadour threatens me:* then, reaſſuming his gravity, he added, by way of reflection, *See what Verſailles is come to;*

the

the very women of pleaſure pretend to domineer there. Theſe words were preciſely reported to me; however, I took no notice of them; but ſome time after, this miniſter, amidſt his cups, ſang ſome ſcandalous couplets againſt the King himſelf, and before a great deal of company. Of this inſolence I informed his Majeſty, and he was ordered to quit the court.

His exile making a great noiſe in the world, and a conſtruction being put on it which affected his probity and character, I begged of the King to declare in public, that he was ſatisfied with his conduct. His Majeſty did ſo; and let this ſerve as a ſpecimen of his temper; a prince, after being inſolently ridiculed by a ſubject who owed him great obligations, ſtill vouchſafed to ſhew tenderneſs for him.

The government was at a loſs for a perſon fit to ſucceed M. Maurepas at the head of the marine, as now it was become a ſtate myſtery. It had been under Maure-

Maurepas's ſole management during thirty years. M. Rouillé was pitched on, though no great genius; but he had formed ſpecious plans, and aſſured the King that within three years he ſhould have a navy of fourſcore ſhips of the line. *I wiſh*, ſaid the King, *he may make his words good, but I much fear he will fall very ſhort.*

Italy was perfectly at eaſe; the infant Don Philip had made his entrance into Parma: we heard at Verſailles that he lived very gaily there amid concerts, plays, and balls. *I am afraid*, ſaid the King, *that young Prince is too fond of balls, and my daughter will be perpetually dancing.*

M. de Noailles uſed to ſay, that *every country dance of Don Philip, in Italy, coſt Spain a hundred thouſand livres; and his mother had paid the fiddlers before-hand.*

The Duke of Modena was reſtored to his dominions, and had all Don Philip's

paſſion for ſplendour and entertainments; but the war had ruined him: the Ducheſs uſed to ſay openly, in the palace, *his Highneſs has not wherewith to make one ſingle minuet ſtep.* She came to court without ſhoes, to ſhew the King the indigence to which the war had reduced their duchy. *Madam*, ſaid his Majeſty to her, *I am not in a much better condition myſelf; but I have a ſhoe-maker, who, if you pleaſe, ſhall wait on you.*

Genoa was free, ſubject only to its own government, now re-eſtabliſhed on its ancient footing. The ambaſſador from the court of Vienna, meeting that ſenate's envoy in the great gallery of Verſailles, ſaid to him; *Sir, the houſe of Auſtria forgives your republic its revolution, only intends to be up with it.*

Rome was at reſt, the foreign armies which, during the war, had been ſuch a burden and terror to it, being withdrawn.

Naples,

Naples, now no longer under a neceſſity of exhauſting itſelf of men and money, was beginning to recover: all it ſtood in need of, was only quiet enjoyment of its fertile ſoil and climate. Concerning this ſmall ſtate, I remember a foreign miniſter once ſaid to me, that *if ever he had been ſo ambitious as to aim at a ſovereignty, it would not be that of Germany, France, or Spain, but to be King of Naples.* His reaſon was, that *there the power was derived directly from heaven; and is the immediate gift of God the Father himſelf.*

The nobility ſtill complained at court of having greatly hurt their fortunes in the war, and were continually ſolliciting compenſations and rewards.

The Prince of Conti, lately created Grand Prior of France, ſaid openly, that his horſes had no hay. *I wonder,* ſaid Marſhal Belleiſle, *they are not yet dead, for ſo long ago as when we were at Coni, his*

Highneſs uſed to complain of the ſcarcity of forage.

Lewis XV. did all he could to repair the fortunes of the great by poſts, penſions, or governments; but he had a greater concern on his hands, which was to repair that of the nation.

I remember once he mildly ſaid to ſome, who were unbecomingly urgent, that he would take care of them; *Have a little patience, I will provide for all as far as poſſible; but before I attend to private houſes, the great family of the ſtate muſt be provided for.* Another time he ſaid, before the whole court, to a groupe of officers who talked much of their campaigns, and aſked rewards: *Gentlemen, you have indeed done me great ſervices in the war, but it is my deſire you will do me ſtill a greater in peace, which is to allow me firſt to eaſe thoſe who have borne the whole weight of the war. You only lent a hand, but*

but they have exhauſted their whole ſubſtance in it, &c. &c.

Marſhal Belleiſle was not overlooked; beſides penſions, ranks, and honours heaped on him, all the bodies of the ſtate, as it were, ſtrove which ſhould pay him the greateſt marks of reſpect. The French Academy itſelf, on his leaving Paris to go to his government, compoſed a formal harangue, proving him the deliverer of France. A man of wit has called the members of the French academy *the moſt elegant liars in Europe*.

The new naval miniſter was buſily ſearching for timber, ſeamen, and money, all over the provinces; but he looked for what was not to be found. On his return to Verſailles, appeared the following memorial, by an unknown hand.

MEMORIAL on the Marine.

"France ſhould not think of forming "a navy gradually; ſuch a plan is im-

" practicable; for the Engliſh, who have " an eye to the building of every ſhip we " put on the ſtocks, and build additional " ſhips in proportion, thereby always ſe- " cure a ſuperiority.

" Thus Great Britain having, at pre- " ſent, a hundred ſhips of the line more " than France, will conſequently always " exceed us by that number, were we to " build three hundred ſhips of war with- " in ten years.

" We have often ſet about forming a " navy, but our endeavours have always " been defeated by the Britons. They have " taken our ſhips in times of profound " peace, and declared themſelves our " enemies by ſea, before any war had " commenced; their vigilance in pre- " venting any thing which might affect " the ſuperiority of their navy, pays no re- " gard to juſtice or good faith. A King " of England would be immediately de- " throned by his ſubjects, ſhould he be

" for

" for adhering to the treaties made with " France. It is a tacit maxim with that " nation, that a treaty is to ſubſiſt only " whilſt France builds no ſhips.

" Time, which to all other diſorders of " government brings a remedy, here " renders the diſeaſe incurable: building " therefore is too ſlow a way; they know " at London the very day when any ſhip " of war is finiſhed, and when to be " launched.

" This part of political ſtrength muſt " be formed at once, and unknown to " the admiralty of England. We ſhould " without delay apply to Holland, Den- " mark, the republic of Genoa, and " Venice; and there, at once, purchaſe " a proper number of ſhips; and if " thoſe ſtates cannot fully ſupply us, " there is Malta, Algiers, Tripoli, Con- " ſtantinople, &c. No matter from what " nation we have ſhips, or how they are

" built, if they will but hold men and " guns.

" Herein the ſtricteſt ſecrecy muſt be " obſerved, and the purchaſes all punctu- " ally made at one and the ſame ap- " pointed time; for ſhould the Engliſh " get any intelligence of our deſign, they " would either by open force, or nego- " tiation, prevent any ſuch purchaſe.

" The want of ſeamen ſtill remains; " but here again we may ſupply ourſelves " by the ſame method. In time of peace, " the Maritime powers have a great " many more ſeamen than they want; it " is only making good offers to thoſe " men; for the ſailor, like the ſoldier, is " for the beſt bidder; his natural Prince " is money, &c. &c."

M. Rouillé, on reading this memorial, ſaid, *The author has forgot the main thing, money. He would have us purchaſe a navy all at once, but does not provide wherewith to pay for it at once.*

A ſtateſ-

A ſtateſman has often obſerved, that moſt of the projects offered at the court of France are deficient in the very foundation. The ſchemer writes on in proſecution of his notions, till meeting a rock, when all his ſpecious reaſonings are wrecked.

M. de Belleiſle told me that, in his cloſet, he had hundreds of memoirs for increaſing the revenue and the national wealth, inſcribed to him by the fineſt genius's of the kingdom; and that he might perhaps publiſh them with this title, *A collection of very fine, and very uſeleſs projects.* "Idle people, ſaid he, often have thoughts which the buſineſs of placemen does not allow them to have:" and added, "that though memorial writers do not always make good their points, yet their ſtrictures often put others on effectual improvements."

After the peace, the King had ſent the Duke de Mirepoix to London: on which

Marſhal Saxe ſaid, that this nobleman was perfectly fit for the embaſſy, having a very handſome leg, and dancing prettily, which might be of good conſequence in a court which delighted in balls. The reaſons which induced the King to this choice, have always been unknown to me. He never ſo much as mentioned it to me till it was done. A very intelligent man, whom the king had often employed in ſtate affairs, ſaid to me, at that time, "that M. de Mirepoix was neither ſupple nor complaiſant enough for the Engliſh; neither was he ſufficiently acquainted with the reſpective intereſts of the two nations: beſides, continued he, he has a great defect for an ambaſſador, he is too honeſt, ſo that the Engliſh will impoſe on him." He might perhaps have added, with equal truth, that he had not a capacity equal to that employment. M. de Mirepoix had ſpent his youth in diverſions, and the latter part of his life in

war;

war; now the ſcience of negotiation is not learnt either at the play-houſe or in the camp.

This miniſter's conſtant note was, that the court of St. James's was perfectly pleaſed with the peace, and all its thoughts turned on the enjoyment of it. He indeed wrote no more than he believed; for George the Second made him believe whatever he pleaſed.

The Engliſh miniſter at Paris was my Lord Albemarle, like ours, no great negociator. He had been taught his leſſon by heart before he left London, and when at Verſailles only repeated it. On any repreſentation of the court of France being informed that the Britiſh court was making military preparations, he anſwered, that it was a miſtake. This M. de Puiſieux was continually ſaying to him, and his anſwer was ever the ſame. Engliſh policy is much more eaſy than the French, having but one path; ſo that when

once a Britiſh miniſter has got into it, he need but go ſtraight on.

I ſaw this miniſter ſometimes; he ſpoke our language better than common, and expreſſed himſelf even with energy. He loved expence, and lived noblemanlike; but he appeared to me to have one fault, though indeed it is common to all the Engliſh; his very prodigalities had ſomthing of parſimony in them. George the Second, who had a great kindneſs for him, ſupplied his expences; for though he lived ſo high, he was very poor: an Engliſhman, who had known him at London, ſpeaking of his arrival at Paris, ſaid, "My Lord will get a miſtreſs there, run in debt, and die by ſome accident." The prophecy was fully accompliſhed: He lived with a girl, borrowed large ſums, and died ſuddenly.

Lewis XV. was more conſtantly with me than ever; I had brought him to a cuſtom of ſeeing me every day, and never ſpend-

ſpending leſs than five or ſix hours in my apartment: I accompanied him in all the journies, and had my apartments in all the royal ſeats. The more I became acquainted with his Majeſty, the more I perceived the exceeding goodneſs of his heart.

My huſband loudly complained of my living at Verſailles, and wrote to me a very paſſionate letter, full of reproaches againſt me, and ſtill more againſt the King; amidſt other indiſcreet terms, calling him tyrant. As I was reading this letter, the King came into my apartment; I immediately thruſt it into my pocket; the emotion with which I received his Majeſty, ſhewed me to be under ſome diſorder; I was for concealing the cauſe, but on his repeated inſtances, I put my huſband's letter into his hands. He read it through without the leaſt ſign of reſentment: I aſſured him that I had no ſhare in his temerity; and the better to con-

convince him of it, desired that he would punish the writer severely. *No, Madam,* said he to me, with that air of goodness which is so natural to him, *your husband is unhappy, and should rather be pitied.* History does not afford a like passage of moderation in an injured King. My spouse, on being informed of it, left the kingdom to travel.

Though the peace had diffused quiet through Europe, it caused violent agitations in the political bodies of France. The parliament of Paris, amidst its many remonstrances to Lewis XV. exhorted him in a very fine speech, to take off the *twentieth denier*. The deputies of that body expressed themselves in this manner:

So many millions of men now in indigence, stand in need of immediate ease and relief; whereas, should they be still obliged to pay the twentieth denier, they will be quite unable to lift up their heads again, and repair their shattered

tered fortune, and hence a general deſpondency.

Whole families will be reduced to the moſt dreadful diſtreſs, and thus be afraid of leaving behind them a numerous iſſue, which would be a burden to them whilſt living, and to whom they can tranſmit no other inheritance than their wretchedneſs.

The number of children, who are the hope and ſupport of the ſtate, will be continually decreaſing, the villages will be thinned, trade languiſh, and the culture of land in a great meaſure at a ſtand. The ruin of the farmers will neceſſarily be followed by that of the nobility, as their eſtates will ſuffer a very conſiderable diminution; and thus theſe people, and that brave nobility, whoſe valour is their ſoul and chief reſource, will be involved in one common ruin.

Count Saxe uſed to call the deputies of the parliament the great-chamber pedants. *They are for teaching the adminiſtration,* ſays he, *what it knows better than themſelves.*

ſelves. They are always harping on the diſtempers of the ſtate, without any word of a remedy. Once, as the firſt preſident was delivering a pathetic harangue before the King, proving the neceſſity of leſſening the weight of the taxes, his Majeſty cut him ſhort with theſe words: *Mr. Preſident, let but the parliament enable me to pay off the ſtate debts, and defray the preſent expences of the Monarchy, and very readily will I aboliſh every tax, duty, and impoſt.*

A man of wit, and who knows the French temper, uſed to ſay, that theſe uſeleſs repreſentations were become neceſſary, as keeping up the people's ſpirits, who, without a declared Protector, would think themſelves for ever undone.

In Cardinal de Fleury's indolent miniſtry, and the ſubſequent wars, the government had not been able to take into conſideration an abuſe which manifeſtly tended to diſpeople the monarchy. Religion,

ligion, in all wiſe governments, a ſource of population, was thinning the human ſpecies. All France was mouldering away in convents: every town and village had numerous communities of girls, who made vows againſt having children. The following letter, which I received from a nun at Lyons, and communicated to the King, occaſioned deliberations for reforming this abuſe.

"MADAM,

"I was at firſt for writing to the "Pope, but, on farther reflection, I "thought it would be full as well to "apply to you. The point is this: when "I was but ſeven years of age, my pa- "rents ſhut me up in the convent where "I now am; and on my entering into "my fifteenth year, two nuns ſignified "to me an order to take the veil. I de- "ferred complying for ſome time; for "though quite a ſtranger to every thing "but the houſe I was in, yet I ſuſpected

"there

" there muſt be another kind of world
" than the convent, and another ſtate
" than that of a nun; but the ſiſter of
" *Jeſus's heart*, our mother, in order to
" fix my call, ſaid to me, that all wo-
" men who married were damned, be-
" cauſe they lie with a man, and bore
" children: this ſet me a-crying moſt
" bitterly for my poor mother, as burn-
" ing eternally in hell for having
" brought me into the world.

" I took the veil; but now that I am
" twenty years of age, and my conſtitution
" formed, I daily feel that I am not made
" for this ſtate, and think I want ſome-
" thing; and that ſomething, or I am
" much miſtaken, is a huſband.

" My talking continually of matri-
" mony ſets the community a-madding;
" the ſiſter of the *Holy Ghoſt* tells me,
" that I am Jeſus Chriſt's ſpouſe; but,
" for my part, I feel myſelf much in-
" clined

" clined to a ſecond marriage with a " man.

" On a young girl's coming into a con- " vent, half a dozen wheedlers get about " her, and never leave her till they have " perſuaded her to take the veil. Chil- " dren are buried every day in monaſteries, " whilſt their early age does not admit " of any ſolid reflections on the vows " they are drawn to make.

" Let me intreat you, Madam, to per- " ſuade the King to reform this abuſe; it " is a reformation which both religion " and the proſperity of the ſtate call for. " The ſacrificing ſo many victims to the " avarice of parents, is a great loſs of " people to the ſtate, and the kingdom " of heaven is not the fuller. God " requires voluntary ſacrifices, and " theſe are the fruit of reflection. It " is ſurpriſing, that the laws, in ſettling " the age for our ſex's paſſing a civil " contract, ſhould forget the age for " making

" making vows: is reaſon leſs neceſſary " for contracting with God, than with " men? This I ſubmit to yours and his " Majeſty's reflections: in the mean " time, give me leave to be,

Madam,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

Siſter JOSEPH."

The King thought that ſiſter *Jeſus's heart*, and ſiſter *Holy Ghoſt*, had done wrong in drawing ſiſter Joſeph into the ſtate of celibacy, as with ſuch happy diſpoſitions for marriage, ſhe bid fair to have been a fruitful mother, and thus have benefited the ſtate.

To ſuppreſs the aforeſaid abuſe, his Majeſty iſſued an arret, forbidding all religious communities to admit a novice under twenty-four years of age and a day.

Other bodies, beſides the parliament, continued ſetting forth to the court the im-

impoſſibility the people were under of paying the *twentieth denier*. The ſtates of Languedoc, with a peremptory kind of humility, repreſented that it was a load the province could by no means bear: the biſhops, who uſually employ their pens only in mandates, now wrote memorials on the public diſtreſs. The King ordered them not to meddle with money matters, and diſſolved the aſſembly. The Duke de Richelieu, who was then at Montpellier, ſeconded the court's injunctions, and reſtrained the biſhops pens as much as he could.

On being thus debarred from writing or meeting, they appointed an extraordinary deputation to lay before the King the condition of the kingdom. They were admitted to audience; they made their ſpeech, returned home, and the *twentieth denier* was levied.

A miniſter of ſtate uſed frequently to ſay, that theſe repreſentations only increaſed

creaſed the public charges. Were the provinces to pay at firſt, they would ſave themſelves the no ſmall expences of journies, correſpondencies, and deputations, not to mention monopolies, which, on theſe occaſions, are unavoidable.

The ſtates of Bretagne likewiſe offered their difficulties; but all the effect of the repreſentations of both was, that the court appointed two intendants of the finances to go and ſettle the levying of that tax on thoſe refractory provinces.

Theſe dictatorial proceedings of the ſtates led the council to take their meetings into conſideration; and, for ſome days, it was deliberated, whether they ſhould not be totally laid aſide. A counſellor of ſtate, who was for the diſſolution, drew up a memorial, which the King was pleaſed to communicate to me. This piece having never been printed, conſequently not known to the public, I ſhall give it a place here.

"The

"The provincial ſtates are of no uſe "to France; ſuch aſſemblies might have "been neceſſary in thoſe times, when "each province formed a ſeparate king-"dom; but France being now united "under one ſingle government, can re-"gulate its concerns ſufficiently for itſelf, "without any need of aſſemblies.

"Theſe provincial ſtates only keep a di-"viſion between the Prince and the ſubject; "and are an obſtacle to the expeditious "levying and collecting of the impoſts.

"On his Majeſty's ordering a tax, "however neceſſary it be, to defray the "extraordinary expences, theſe ſtates "are ſure to oppoſe it; and immediately "the court is deluged with remon-"ſtrances, and Verſailles crowded with "deputies: the general affairs muſt be "delayed to iſſue freſh orders, and an-"ſwer thoſe ſent by the ſtates, for their "writings are rather orders than memo-"rials.

"This ſuſpenſion of ordinances has "other very bad effects; the ſubjects, be- "come accuſtomed not to obey, look on "the wants of the ſtate with the coldeſt "indifference, and the public affairs go "on heavily.

"The members of theſe aſſemblies "are like ſo many petty ſovereigns; "their aſcendency over the minds of the "people being without bounds. An "Archbiſhop of Narbonne, on his com- "ing to Montpellier to open the ſtates, "is received with greater pomp than if "Lewis XV. was to make his public "entry.

"In a monarchical ſtate, where the "whole authority ſhould proceed only "from one centre, it is dangerous to "divide it by ſubordinate bodies.

"Theſe provincial ſtates likewiſe affect "morality and religion; thoſe of Lan- "guedoc conſiſt of twenty-four biſhops, "or archbiſhops, who thus are abſent

"from

" from their dioceſes three months out " of the twelve; leaving in their ſtead " their vicars, who have neither the like " regard or zeal for their flock; and in " this interval, a relaxation in diſcipline " and manners ſpreads every where.

" The luxury of theſe aſſemblies is " equally ſcandalous, every biſhop there " having his court and courtiers, and " keeping open table. To day the biſhop " of Alaix has thirty covers on his table; " and to-morrow my Lord of Niſmes " gives an entertainment, to which fifty " perſons of diſtinction are invited; and " ſo on.

" The diſſolution of the ſtates will be " attended with no diminution in the " finances. The free gift, which is the " principal buſineſs of theſe aſſemblies, " may be regulated like a common tax " levied from year to year."

The door of the provincial ſtates being thus ſhut up, that of the aſſembly of the

clergy immediately burſt open: it was ſtill the ſame object, but here diſcuſſed in great.

The buſineſs, as in the other aſſemblies, was the *twentieth denier*, and the free gift: though this body, whenever called on by the King, pleads indigence, yet it knows that it is ſo far accounted rich, that all its ſtudied ſpeeches, on thoſe occaſions, cannot bring the public to think it poor.

It endeavours therefore to compound with the King, and this time offered ſeven millions and a half to be exempted from the impoſt. I have heard a perſon, very well ſkilled in ſuch affairs, ſay, that the clergy ſhould not be allowed to compound for taxes; but that if any compoſition were to be admitted, it ought to be with the commonalty; which, as being moſt burthened, ſhould be preferred before all the other bodies put together.

The

The affairs of the cloſet did not interrupt the court entertainments: the King hunted as uſual, came to the plays, and every day ſupped with me in the little apartments. A tender and affectionate friendſhip now cloſely united us; deſire was ſuperſeded by a calm inclination; the friend had ſucceeded the miſtreſs; our hearts glowed with all the complacency ariſing from paſſions, without any of the diſagreeable circumſtances accompanying them. Several women had inſpired Lewis XV. with love, but not one had he met with of a turn to make him feel the delights of friendſhip, which a generous ſoul will always prefer. The former is a commerce of pleaſures, the gratification of which is almoſt ever followed by diſguſt: the ſecond is a mild ſettled delight, reſident in the mind, and if it does not miniſter any reliſh to the ſenſes, is more laſting, lively, and refined. The King himſelf, at this time, aſ-

ſured me, that had he at firſt felt the delights of friendſhip, he ſhould never have given himſelf up to thoſe of love. All paſſion was now ſubſided in him; for this name is not to be given to thoſe deſultory gallantries, when the conſtitution only prompts to pleaſure, without any concurrence of the heart.

This excellent Prince often ſaid to me, that he was happy in having a real friend, to whom he could communicate his ſatisfactions and his troubles, for kings have theirs like other men; one of his greateſt was the diſtreſſes of the people, and the impoſſibility of relieving them ſo ſpeedily as he could have wiſhed. He laid open to me the whole ſtate of his mind, without any reſerved ſecrets; all his heart was as well known to me as my own: it was an uneaſineſs for us to part, and we always met again with redoubled pleaſure.

The King, as I ſaid in the beginning of theſe Memoirs, had, ſoon after my firſt appear-

appearance at court, made me Marchioneſs de Pompadour; and, that I might remain there with the greater decency, created me *a Lady of the palace.* This new place ſhould have convinced all Europe, that there was no other commerce between his Majeſty and me than what aroſe from eſteem and friendſhip. But ill-nature purſues its point, regardleſs of all probabilities; and the ſtate-malcontents picked out this paſſage of my life to mangle my reputation, &c.

To return to politics: buſineſs went on at Verſailles with great diſpatch, that the King might the ſooner have the ſatisfaction he ſo paſſionately deſired, of diminiſhing the impoſts, and making his people enjoy the benefits of peace.

The marine was the principal point in view: M. Rouille had haſtily got together a little fleet, which, putting to ſea, gave no ſmall umbrage to the Engliſh. The

Britiſh nation, with all its natural compoſure, is all in flames at the bare mention of a French navy: concerning this, I remember a jeſt at that time, *that the Britons could not cloſe their eyes ſince France had an eye to its maritime concerns; and that were we to build a hundred ſhips of the line, not a ſoul in England would have any ſleep.*

This navy, however, was but a-beginning, and far ſhort of what was intended. Yet could England aſk France, "what was the deſtination of theſe ſhips?" M. de Puiſieux gave my Lord Albemarle for anſwer, "that the King of France was not accountable to any power in Europe; that France was at peace with Great Britain; and that, conſequently, the latter had nothing to apprehend from thoſe ſhips."

The court of St. James's ſeemed ſatisfied; yet more cloſely watched our meaſures.

The

The government's attention was for ſome time taken up with books; the French, than whom perhaps no people in Europe are more reſtrained in their ſpeeches, fillily affect to be the firſt in their thoughts. They print their notions on what comes uppermoſt, and the government is ever the firſt thing to fall under their pen. It is ſaid that this licentiouſneſs is owing to the above reſtraint; and I have heard that were not ſo many authors ſent to the Baſtile, Paris would not ſwarm with them as it does.

Very few of theſe ſeditious writings will bear reading, ſome of them are not ſo much as worth a *lettre de cachet*. To make the authors of mere traſh the King's penſioners, is doing them too much honour.

Though the aſſembly of the clergy granted every thing required, it did not give every thing. On which the court

ſent a remonſtrance to that body, which it anſwered with another remonſtrance; but herein it ſo little obſerved the bounds of moderation, that the King diſſolved the aſſembly, and confined the biſhops to their dioceſes. The next day a courtier ſaid in the King's antichamber, "that they ought to be ſent "out of the kingdom, and prieſts put in "their places:" this act of prerogative ſo humbled the prelates, that they offered to comply with all his Majeſty's pleaſure.

A nobleman ſaid to the King, *Sir, if your Majeſty will be no more troubled with the clergy's remonſtrances, a ſure way will be, to forbid the biſhops coming to Paris; they will aſſent to the free gifts, or to any terms, only allow them to live there.*

However, this affair of the biſhops diſturbed the King; and one day he ſaid to me, with ſome emotion, *They are perpetually*

ally vexing me. No ſooner have I raiſed a poor eccleſiaſtic to a dignity of a hundred thouſand livres a year, than he ſets up for a leading man among the clergy, and votes againſt the free gift. Sir, ſaid I to him, *methinks there is a way of ſatisfying all. The crown ſhould, on the death of the preſent poſſeſſor, appropriate to itſelf half of the revenue of the larger benefices. This would be no tax on any one. There is not a ſubject in France, deſigned for the church, who would not think himſelf under the higheſt obligations to your Majeſty, in conferring on him an abbey, or a biſhopric, with a revenue leſs, by half, than what the preſent poſſeſſor makes of it. I take upon me to bring about the compoſition; I make no doubt but that I ſhall find, in the kingdom, two hundred eccleſiaſtics, who will gladly ſet their hands to ſuch an agreement.*

This diminution cannot be accounted unjuſt, your Majeſty having the nomination to

all the large benefices in the kingdom; and the giver is always master of his gifts. No complaint lies against a Prince, who, instead of a hundred and twenty thousand livres a year, which he can bestow on one of his subjects, gives him sixty thousand, &c. &c.

These few words, spoken only cursorily, were, a few days after, followed by an express memorial addressed to the Count de St. Florentine, and which he presented to the King.

MEMORIAL

On the inequality of the taxes raised on the Clergy.

"It is a received maxim in economics, "that a geometrical equality in the levy- "ing of taxes lessens the weight of them. "A burden borne by all the members of "a body is always light.

"The uneasiness of the clergy con- "cerning the free-gift, and other impo- "sitions, towards answering the necessi- "ties

" ties of the ſtate, proceeds not ſo much
" from the impoſitions, as from the aſ-
" ſeſſments. The dignitaries, who ſhould
" pay the moſt, always pay the leaſt,
" conſidering their incomes. The whole
" load falls on the poor pariſh prieſts,
" and other country incumbents, who
" have ſcarce a ſubſiſtence, and are more
" burthened as clergymen than as ſub-
" jects.

" That the aſſembly of the biſhops tax
" themſelves, and the whole eccleſiaſtical
" body, is not a privilege belonging to
" the clergy, but a mere indulgence of
" the Kings of France, granted then
" with a proviſo, that the aſſeſſments
" ſhould be equitable, and that the in-
" ferior prieſts, who are the King's ſub-
" jects no leſs than the greater eccleſi-
" aſtics, ſhould not be overcharged.

" The tax is rated by the income,
" which is an inquitous aſſeſſment: a

" prieſt with only a hundred crowns
" a year, paying a crown, in effect, is rat-
" ed much higher than a biſhop, who,
" with a hundred thouſand livres a-year,
" pays a thouſand: a yearly income of
" ninety-nine thouſand livres being ever
" more or leſs ſuperfluous; whereas he
" who has only a hundred crowns, by be-
" ing deprived of one, muſt feel it in the
" very neceſſaries of life.

" The inferior clergy are the King's
" ſubjects equally with the higher. To
" allow the biſhops to tax prieſts, be-
" cauſe they are ſubordinate to them, is
" a manifeſt error in government, the
" ſpiritual power having no claims in
" temporals. The impoſition and aſſeſs-
" ments of taxes appertains to the crown,
" the mitre has nothing to do in it.

" The whole body of the clergy ſhould
" be taxed once for all, like the body of
" the laity: what tax the clergy can pay

" may

" may be eaſily known; it is only taking " an account of the ſeveral ſums which " the clergy has paid for theſe laſt twenty " years; the twentieth part of the " amount will be a fair yearly tax, as in " twenty years an exact calculation may " be made of the periodical wants of " the ſtate. In this interval, all the re- " volutions may be reduced to a general " ſum.

" It may be left to the clergy's choice " to pay the tax, without holding an aſ- " ſembly: this might be done by a tarif " on the large and ſmall dignities and be- " nefices, or the tax might be levied by " the King's officers, as on the other ſub- " jects of the ſtate.

" The latter moſt comports with the " dignity of the crown, and will likewiſe " be more advantageous. As the church " is daily making acquiſitions, and its " general opulence is continually in- " creaſing by donations, the clergy's pay-

" ments

" ments ſhould be raiſed in proportion
" to their aggrandizement.

" This riſe of the clergy's tax would be
" no more than what takes place in the
" common impoſts. Artificers and trades-
" people pay more in proportion to their
" thriving, though this be by their own
" labour and induſtry."

The American affairs, of which not a word had been heard ſince the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, now began to employ the court's attention. The Engliſh complained, by their ambaſſador, my Lord Albemarle, that the French countenanced the Indians in their practices, and, underhand inſtigated them to moleſt their ſettlement in Nova Scotia. M. de Puiſieux told the Britiſh miniſter, that the people at London were miſtaken; " The court of France, ſaid he, knows nothing of this ſuppoſed inſtigation; and, very probably, it exiſts only in the ſuſpicious minds of the Engliſh."

How-

However, the firſt ſparks of that fire, which was to kindle the war a freſh, already began to appear. Advice came from Canada, that the Indians were in motion; and though the cabinet of Verſailles did not give direct orders to the French to oppoſe any ſuch motion, neither did it tell them not to do ſo. This ſilence left the commanders to gueſs how they were to act; accordingly, they did not declare openly, but let ſecond cauſes take their courſe.

A miniſter of a foreign court, formerly allied with France, and who, at that time, was frequently with M. de Puſieux, put into his hands a memorial on this head, which the King never ſaw, and it was not till long after that I read it.

"France, ſaid that piece, is not yet in "a condition to go to war again: things "ſhould be left to remain as they are, "till ſhe is able to cope with Eng-"land; otherwiſe every thing will be "ruined.

" ruined. The war by ſea will give the " turn to that by land: Great Britain " will chuſe this juncture for inducing " the King of Pruſſia to declare againſt " France, which thus will have two " weighty wars on its hands, and only " for a continent of no great importance, " and which, at laſt, it will certainly loſe, " for the events of this war may be eaſily " foreſeen.

" The Engliſh navy is much ſuperior " to that of France; and the King of " Pruſſia has two hundred thouſand well " diſciplined men, ready, at the firſt or- " der, to march, and make a powerful " diverſion in Germany; and, with the " addition of thoſe in England, will un- " queſtionably turn the ſcale in the " north. France is very well as it is, " and ſhould aim at nothing beyond " keeping itſelf ſo, till a favourable op- " portunity ſhall enable it to do better.

" Nothing

"Nothing in America calls for haſte; "you will always have time enough to "make good your claims there: the Sa- "vages are your friends; they cannot "endure the Engliſh. At preſent "interfere no farther than fomenting this "variance without promoting it; the "time will come when you may make "your own uſe of it: precipitancy ſpoils "the moſt promiſing affairs; whereas "time and patience bring every thing to "bear.

"Don't imagine that your intrigues "with the Americans blind Europe; the "moſt clandeſtine practices of courts are "always detected. Already, you are "made accountable for the proceedings "of the Canadians, though you appear "not to concern yourſelves about them. "It is known to all Europe, that the "North American ſavages act without "any continued deſign, when not ſpirit- "ed up and directed. Every body knows

"thoſe

" thoſe automata have no will of their
" own, ſaying and doing only juſt as they
" are bid to do.

" Your navy is but in its infancy,
" ſcarce begun to be formed, ſo that a war
" only of two years would totally deſtroy
" it. Before engaging in a war, there is
" a ſure way of knowing whether it
" ſhould be undertaken, which is to
" weigh the advantages of the conqueſts
" with the diſadvantages of the defeats.

" Should you beat the Engliſh at ſea,
" which is a circumſtance out of all pro-
" bability, you will retain North Ame-
" rica, which you already have; if beaten,
" and here the likelihood lies, you will
" loſe America, and perhaps all your
" other colonies, for one conqueſt ever
" leads to another.

" The Engliſh, though beginning the
" war only on account of Canada, will
" avail themſelves of their firſt victory
" to enlarge their views: and the court
" of

" of St. James's may afterwards ſtrike " out ſuch a ſcheme of deſtruction to " France, as perhaps, at preſent, it " does not think of.

" A great diſadvantage to France, is " its having no ally who can help it to " recover its loſſes againſt the Engliſh: " the Spaniſh navy is in no better con- " dition than that of France; and the " Dutch rejoice in a war between the " maritime powers, were it only for the " vaſt advantages accruing to them from " their neutrality. A continental power " may retrieve the loſs of a battle by a " ſubſequent victory; a more experienc- " ed general, better diſciplined troops, " or more favourable circumſtances, will " give a turn to a land-war; but the ma- " ritime concerns of France are ſo ſituat- " ed, that a colony taken from it is loſt " for ever; its ſhips, the only means of " bringing it again into the path of vic- " tory, being deſtroyed."

This

This memorial, however approved by ſome politicians to whom I have ſince ſhewed it, had not the effect which might have been expected; another, afterwards preſented to the ſame Miniſter, ſet the ſame object in a very different light.

It is ſaid that the members of the Engliſh parliament being generally of contrary opinions, long debates are very frequent in that aſſembly; and that theſe debates produce lights, from which the hearers receive great improvement, and become better qualified to ſerve their country. It is otherwiſe in France: here the contrariety of opinions only bewilders the underſtanding, and increaſes the confuſion.

"The Canada affair, ſaid the laſt "writer, too nearly concerns the French "monarchy, to be left as it is. Every "minute we loſe diminiſhes our power, "and augments that of our enemies. "The war ought to have been continu-

"ed,

" ed, had not ſecond cauſes forced the " government into a peace; but thoſe " cauſes no longer ſubſiſting, we ſhould " take up arms again.

" The Engliſh will never keep within " the limits aſſigned by the commiſſa- " ries. They will, by ſkirmiſhes and " ſecret practices, be ever endeavouring " to come beyond thoſe barriers: they " muſt be prevented in time, their " ſchemes muſt be deſtroyed at their " very firſt appearance, otherwiſe it will " be too late.

" The loſs of Canada would be an in- " conceivable detriment to France. It " is that to which England owes its be- " ing miſtreſs of the ſea, opening to it " numberleſs branches of commerce, " which it would never have known " without being poſſeſſed of this con- " tinent.

" Though we have no great navy, yet " have we ſhipping enough; a ſea quar-

rel

" rel is not the point, but a land war.
" It is enough for us to ſend over ſome
" troops to Canada; the American affairs
" have no connection with thoſe of our
" country. Should any diſturbances hap-
" pen in Germany, they will ſpring
" from a quite different cauſe; and if the
" King of Pruſſia declares againſt France,
" it will be for ſome particular views of
" his own, quite foreign to our colonies;
" he would declare himſelf, if we had no
" diſpute with the Britons about Ca-
" nada.

" It is not the firſt time of our having
" ſeveral wars on our hands, or, ra-
" ther, it is impoſſible that we ſhould
" have but one at a time.

" Our concerns are ſo cloſely linked
" with the other powers of Europe, that
" on our arming, five or ſix princes can-
" not avoid declaring.

" The ſituation of affairs in Canada
" lays us under a neceſſity of renewing
" the

" the war: we cannot continue in the
" ſtate we now are in; the capital effort
" of our politics ſhould be to recover the
" advantage which we loſt by means of
" the Engliſh.

" Amidſt all the magnified ſuperiority
" of the Britiſh navy, its ſucceſſes are not
" ſo certain as ſuppoſed. Advantages
" in war depend on a great number of
" unforeſeen events. It is often obſerved,
" that the certain expectation of a vic-
" tory has ſuddenly turned into the diſ-
" appointment of a defeat.

" England has not had time, ſince the
" peace, to increaſe its marine; its naval
" force is, at this day, juſt as it was at
" the end of the war. Before the treaty
" of Aix-la-Chapelle, we could defend
" ourſelves at ſea, and ſtill can: but if
" we defer any longer, the time will be
" over; for the Britiſh navy now is en-
" creaſing every day. Our's will be ſo
" much

" much inferior, as not to dare to ſhew " its face before them; and then we " ſhall be obliged to relinquiſh North " America.

" Let us, without delay, begin the war " again, and then we ſhall drive the Eng- " liſh out of Canada; whereas, by con- " tinuing the peace, they will diſpoſſeſs " us. This is no time for parlying; we " muſt either give up that part of Ame- " rica to England, or prepare to diſpute " it.

" The ſavage nations are our allies, " they mortally hate the Engliſh; and " ſhall we delay availing ourſelves of ſuch " a favourable diſpoſition? A people " without any fixed laws, is naturally " given to change. The Canadians love " war, and deſpiſe ſuch nations as live in " peace: twenty years inactivity would " give them an ill opinion of the French; " whereas, ſeeing us at war with a nation

" whom

" whom they hate, they will eſteem us, " and come into a cloſer alliance " with us than before, &c."

Theſe memorials made no alteration in the general ſyſtem; both ſides continued to diſſemble, and expreſs a deſire of cultivating the peace. England applied itſelf to increaſe its navy, and France ſent orders to Breſt and Rochfort, for building ſhips with the utmoſt diſpatch.

Amidſt the moſt earneſt concern to redreſs the calamities of the ſtate, no expedients could be found for ſo great and good an end. The people could not be relieved but by aboliſhing the taxes; and the expences of the ſtate could not be anſwered but by new impoſts: every branch of the government was embarraſſed; ſo that the King often ſaid to me, with a painful ſenſe of ſuch a ſituation, *I know not where to begin.*

The advantages of the encouragement of tillage, the improvement of arts,

the increaſe of trade, the diſcharge of the national debt, were only in perſpective; whereas the people ſtood in need of preſent relief. Obſerving that the public affairs greatly affected the King's temper and conſtitution, I contraſted them with diverſions. I may ſay, the moſt gay and ſtriking conceits of imagination, for pleaſing the ſenſes, were now exhibited at Verſailles. In all the entertainments which I gave to the Monarch, there was little of my own; I had people of taſte at Paris who furniſhed me with original materials, to which I only gave a few retouches.

Amidſt all my inventions to draw the court from that mournful ſtate which the perplexity of affairs ſhed on it, I perceived that the King was not ſo chearful as I could have deſired. He had a cloudineſs in his looks, which were naturally ſprightly; he was, likewiſe, more thoughtful than uſual. Alarmed

ed at this lugubrious ſcene, I took the liberty to aſk his Majeſty the cauſe of ſo unhappy an alteration. He vaguely anſwered, "that he was not ſenſible of any alteration, and that my company ſtill was his chief delight:" the revolution, however, was but too certain.

My enemies having miſcarried in their deſign of inducing the King to remove me from court, by political motives, ſet religion to work; and no leſs a perſon than his Majeſty's confeſſor was put at the head of this cabal. He was a Jeſuit with only morality for his inſtrument; but as that, with a Prince, ſeldom gets the better of pleaſure, he contrived a way which ſtruck my Monarch.

This reverend father employed one of the beſt hands in Paris, in a picture repreſenting the torments of hell. Several crowned heads ſeemed chained down in dreadful ſufferings; there was no beholding their contortions without ſhuddering.

This infernal maſter-piece he made a preſent of to Lewis XV. The King having viewed it for ſome time with a frown, aſked the meaning of the picture, the very thing the ſon of Loyola wanted.

"Sire, ſaid he, the Prince you ſee there "ſuffering eternal torments, was an am- "bitious Monarch, who ſacrificed his "people to his vain delight in glory and "power. He next to him, whom the "devils are inſulting, was an avaricious "monarch, who laid up in his coffers "immenſe treaſures, ſqueezed from his "oppreſſed ſubjects. This third wretch "was an indolent ſovereign, who mind- "ed nothing, and inſtead of governing "by himſelf, left every thing to his mi- "niſters, whoſe incapacity produced in- "finite miſchiefs. This fourth, whoſe "ſufferings exceed thoſe of the others, "his crime being greater, was a volup- "tuous King, openly keeping a concu-

"bine

" bine at his court; and by this ſcanda-
" lous example had filled his kingdom
" with debauchery, &c."

The allegory was coarſe, and becoming a monk, who, in the want of the means to attain his ends in this world, has recourſe to things of the other life. Lewis XV. who ſaw into the drift of the picture, ordered the moraliſt to withdraw, but the impreſſion remained.

This was not the firſt time that the churchmen had preſumed on their office, and abuſed the King's goodneſs. A prelate had made him perform an ignominious act of penitence when ſick at Metz.

I uſed freſh endeavours to relieve the King from this return of languor, and had in a great meaſure ſucceeded, when a family-concern brought on a ſevere relapſe.

The Dauphin was now in his twenty-ſecond year, which, by the cuſtom of

France, intitled him to be intrusted with the affairs of the crown. This Prince had always shewn the most submissive deference to the King his father, but of late had put himself at the head of a party, most of whom were my enemies: they exposed me with all the venom of scurrility, and even brought in the King. Lewis XV. knew it, and this was what occasioned that inward conflict which gave him so much trouble. After communicating his situation to me, he said, *And what would you do, Madam, in such a case?* "Sire, answered I, I would admit "his Royal Highness the Dauphin into "every council, and allow him all the "honours due to his rank and birth." *Well*, said the King, *I will follow your advice*; and soon after the Dauphin saw himself sent for on every important deliberation.

M. de Machault, then at the head of the finances, left no stone unturned to put

put them in a good condition: he was urged on every ſide. M. Rouillé aſked very large ſums to form a navy; the payers of annuities were perpetually at his elbow, and his apartment was never clear of thoſe who had advanced money in the late war. He one day ſaid to the King, in my hearing, *Sire, I know not how in the world, I ſhall anſwer your engagements; every body is making demands on me, and no body will give me any credit.*

Marſhal Belleiſle, to whom that laborious miniſter often uſed to pour forth his lamentations, told him, "Sir, I ſee "but one way for you, which is to make "the ſtate a bankrupt. When a machine "is out of order, the only remedy is to "ſtop its motion, and to ſet it to rights "again."

This advice, however, was not followed; and inſtead of ſtopping the machine of the finances, in order to ſet

it to rights again, it remained in all its former diſorder. I have ſomewhere, among my papers, a ſcheme for diſcharging the national debt, in which the author, who was accounted a very ſkilful economiſt, advanced, that, for the ſettlement of an invariable order in the finances, the ſtate, every twenty-five years, ſhould declare itſelf inſolvent; and the creditors compound with the King, as with a private inſolvent.

"France, ſaid this paper, will not hear "of making itſelf a bankrupt, but the "way it takes to avoid it, is ſtill more "burthenſome; for when the King's "debts grow troubleſome, does he not "lay very onerous impoſts on the people "for the payment of them? Now this "is a remedy worſe than the diſeaſe, be-"cauſe the collecting of a tax, it is "known, falls little ſhort of doubling it. "He extorts from one to pay another;

"a bank-

" a bankruptcy would ruin only a part " of his ſubjects, whereas the means of " payment impoveriſhes every body."

I am not ſufficiently acquainted with finances, to determine whether a wiſe King, in order to make his people eaſy, ſhould begin by forfeiting the confidence of the wealthy part of his ſubjects. There are always ſome exceptionable things in theſe kinds of memorials. A perſon of a great genius has often told me, " that ſhould all the fine projects, for making France the moſt opulent ſtate in Europe, be carried into execution, it would perhaps make it the very pooreſt in the univerſe."

The particular favour with which Lewis XV. continued to honour me, drew great numbers to my apartment, ſo that I had every morning a full court: ſome perſons of eminence appeared there purely to pleaſe the King; but the buſineſs of the multitude was intereſt. I

had brought the latter to give me memorials, as otherwiſe, I could never have recollected ſo many different objects. It is impoſſible for thoſe who live at a diſtance from court, to conceive the various claſſes of aſkers, and what a number of favours the throne has the pleaſure of beſtowing.

I have read, in an original paper, that Lewis XIV. allowed all his ſubjects, who had any demand to make at court, to apply directly to himſelf. Had ſuch an indulgence been continued under the preſent reign, Lewis XV's whole life would have been taken up only in giving audiences. Theſe memorials I had read to me, and afterwards talked them over to the King.

Beſides thoſe who aſked favours, I was likewiſe teazed with complainers, and indeed theſe were uſually more in number than the others.

In

In ſo large a kingdom as France, it is ſcarce poſſible to prevent all abuſes; ſome neceſſarily ariſe from the very conſtitution, and the maintenance of political order. But one complaint ſo particularly ſtruck me, that I thought it deſerved to be laid before the King. This was the diſregard of the children of officers dying in the ſervice of their country.

A general officer, if no gentleman by birth, though, by his courage, he had ſecured the privileges both of the throne and nobility, leaving iſſue, they were excluded from nobility; and ſoon coming to intermix with the commonalty, no trace remained of the families which had performed the greateſt ſervices to the ſtate: a hero's atchievements died with him, his poſterity were never the better for his exploits. This I mentioned to the King with a ſenſible concern, and ſome time after his Majeſty, ever inclined to what was good and proper, iſſued an

edict, ennobling military officers and their posterity. The different degrees of this nobility were specified in the edict, according to the different ranks of the officers.

No body in the kingdom apprehended that I had any share in this resolution; so that, unless my papers should be looked over, posterity will never know that this establishment, which gave so much satisfaction, was owing to me.

The courtiers were in as great a ferment as ever. They who found there was no pushing their fortune by my means, endeavoured to hurt me. Herein they often made use of indecent, and even insolent talk, besides the baseness of calumny. Several cabals had been formed, and these produced clashing and competitions, which affected the crown, as stirring up discontent in those who held the principal posts of the state.

The

The chancellor de Agueſſeau pleaded his great age, and laid down buſineſs, as no longer able to bear the weight of it. A courtier, who was preſent when the King received his reſignation, ſaid to him, *Certainly, Sire, M. de Agueſſeau muſt be above a century old, for at a hundred years one is ſtill young enough to be chancellor of France.*

Several other placemen quitted, alledging that they could not live in a court where every thing was ruled by a woman: but this philoſophy was of the lateſt; they never had any thoughts of retirement, till their endeavours to raiſe themſelves to the very higheſt pitch of fortune, had miſcarried; and ſome, in their voluntary exile, had ſet inſtruments to work, for making their appearance again on the theatre of power, which they had ſo lately quitted.

M. de Machault had the ſeals. This circulation of poſts, diametrically oppoſite

ſite in practice, and requiring different talents, has been the ſubject of much complaint: but the fault lies in ambition. In France ſubaltern poſts are looked on only as introductory to the more honourable and lucrative employments. On the vacancy of any great office, my apartment was crowded with competitors, who all had a genteel competency; but they wanted profitable poſts, to make a ſhow in the world.

The round of diverſions which I had ſettled at Verſailles, to recover the King from that lethargic heavineſs which was growing conſtitutional, did not break in on general affairs. Lewis XV. daily devoted ſix hours to buſineſs. In the morning he employed himſelf about the foreign and domeſtic affairs.

The death of Marſhal count Saxe now caſt a damp on the feſtivity of the court. I remember a man of wit, being in my apartment when the news came, ſaid to

me,

me, *Now, Madam, we ſhall ſoon have a war, for he was the only one of all his Majeſty's generals whom the King of Pruſſia in the leaſt feared.*

The frequent conferences between Lewis XV. and this hero gave me an opportunity of ſtudying his temper; for there is a pleaſure in knowing great men; and his mind was of a ſingular caſt: all his private behaviour ſavoured of the common man, great only in the day of action; then his ſoul, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, aſſumed a new form; it became piercing, noble, and exalted: a new light beaming on his mind, he had an inſtantaneous perception of every thing. His imagination had nothing to do, the military genius which inſpired him at thoſe times was all-ſufficient; yet after the battle, all this flame and magnanimity ſunk again into littleneſs and vulgarity, nothing great remained in him but the fame of his actions.

In private life, he addicted himself to sensuality in its most brutish excesses; he was a stranger to that refined love which distinguishes noble from vulgar souls, delighting in the company of women only for debauchery; for all his mistresses were common prostitutes. Whilst he was disturbing all Europe by his victories, the gallantries of La Favart, an actress, allowed him no ease.

They who were often with him say, that he had scarce any tincture of learning; war was all he knew; and that he knew without learning it. Some politicians have thought, that his death wrought a change in the systems of Europe, and particularly, that the King of Prussia would never have renewed the war, had Maurice been living: it is certain that one man may change the whole scene of our political world.

I have read, in original memoirs of Lewis XIV. of surprising revolutions, brought

brought about only by the aſcendency of one mortal. Count Saxe had long laboured with indefatigable ardour in purſuit of a repoſe which he never enjoyed; for ſcarce had he ſeen himſelf in that ſummit of grandeur to which his military talents had raiſed him, than death laid him in the grave. Beſides the royal ſeat given him by the King, in reward of his ſervices, with ſuitable incomes, he was inveſted with the higheſt dignities and honours.

This general left behind him an inconteſtable reputation; his very enemies allow him to have been a conſummate warrior; but if he did a great deal for France, France ſtill did more for him; he never wanted for any thing. The King's commiſſaries conſtantly furniſhed him with plenty of all neceſſaries; he had large armies, and fought in a country which has almoſt ever been the theatre of French victories, and where the glory

of

of the French name has ſhone in its greateſt luſtre. Farther, Maurice had with him the King's beſt troops, impatiently longing to ſignalize themſelves. I heard one of the trade, and reckoned to underſtand it thoroughly, ſay, that to be a hero, a man ſhould have paſſed through all the military paths leading to glory; whereas Maurice, in the ſervice of France, trod only one, and that ſmoothed for him; he was never put to thoſe trials where a commander, being forced to exert all his abilities, approves himſelf a general.

I have read in the manuſcript memoirs of Lewis XV. that the great Conde's enemies put the Queen-mother on ſending him into Catalonia only with a ſmall body of troops, and thoſe of the very worſt. Conde, who knew his enemies views, wrote thus to his friend Gourville: *I have been ſent here to attack the gods and men, with only ſhadows to fight them. I ſhall miſcarry*;

miſcarry; how can it be otherwiſe, when the means of beating the enemy have been all taken away from me? Yet this hero, under the diſadvantages both of numbers and the climate, baffled all the efforts of Spain.

The death of Marſhal Saxe occaſioned a revolution in the minds of the military courtiers. They who hitherto had hid themſelves behind his merit, made their appearance: all put in for this hero's poſt, and not one of them was qualified for it.

The King, on the firſt notice of count Maurice's death, ſaid, *I am now without any general, I have only ſome captains remaining.* Lowendahl, however, was ſtill living; but it is ſaid, the genius of thoſe two men was formed to be together, and that the heroic virtues of the latter derived their ſplendor from the ſuperior qualities of the other. A courtier ſaid, on this

this head, *Lowendahl's exploits are over; his counſellor is dead.*

Whilſt Verſailles was full of this event, the Pope's nuncio came to acquaint Lewis XV. that the King of Pruſſia had granted the free exerciſe of the Roman Catholic religion at Berlin; and that even the religious were allowed to ſettle, and wear the habit of their reſpective orders. A courtier hereupon ſaid to the King, *Sire, that Prince is for having a little of every thing. Once nothing would go down with him but ſoldiers, now he muſt have ſome monks.* Another courtier replied, *Since he begins to fancy gowns, let me adviſe your Majeſty to make him a preſent of all the Jeſuits in France.* A third added, *That article ſhould be kept for the next treaty of peace, and let ſix Loyolites be exchanged for one ſoldier.* The ſyſtematical people, however, attributed this indulgence to policy; for when a Prince is looked on to

be

be full of ſchemes and deſigns, every ſtep of his is nicely canvaſſed, and various conſtructions put on it. Some ſaid that the King of Pruſſia thereby intended to ingratiate himſelf with the court of Rome, as, by its intrigues with weak and ſuperſtitious princes, it can amply make up its want of temporal ſtrength. Some thought it to ariſe from a new ſyſtem of population, to draw Catholics thither from other parts; but the monks and prieſts of our faith do not increaſe population, &c. &c.

For my part, I attributed it to the humour for new foundations, which prevails with all the princes of our days. On examining the conſtitution of the Pruſſian government, which is an abſolute monarchy, the plurality of religions will by no means appear ſuitable to it; at leaſt I have heard from a very intelligent perſon, that it is only in republics where

where a freedom of religion can be properly allowed.

For ſome time the King had been more chearful than uſual: after ſo many vexations and fatigues, he now began to breathe a little; he was at leiſure to be often with me, and to hunt as much as he could. Never was a Prince ſo fond of this exerciſe. His eagerneſs in it often fatigued him beyond all bounds. I one day repreſented to him, that he made a toil of that pleaſure, and that it would be better for him to be more moderate in it; that exceſs in any thing was hurtful: but he anſwered, that the more he hunted, the better he found himſelf. This is a new medical ſyſtem; the court-phyſicians, who are all for motion and agitation, will have kings to ſpend half their life on horſe-back.

But a great ſatisfaction, which that
1750 juſtly beloved Prince now felt,

was

was the having given ſome relief to his burthened ſubjects. He had remitted three millions of the land-tax, aboliſhed the hundredth denier, and the pence per livres levied on this impoſt. Though this was no great good, it preſaged the end of a great evil.

At the ſame time, Lewis XV. ordered an inquiry into the nature of the taxes; of all impoſts, the land-tax was found to be the moſt burthenſome, as not proportioned to the real income. The old tax was ſtill levied, without conſidering any decays, or damages of eſtates and lands; many a market-town, or village, which had formerly been able to pay large ſums, was now no longer ſo; yet the ſame duty was required.

The government deliberated on ways for aboliſhing ſuch an unequal tax, and ſubſtitute another of a more proportionate aſſeſſment. This had, for ſome time paſt, been often propoſed, but always

ways rejected. It was now again taken into consideration, and after the most minute discussions, it was found best to leave things as they were, lest worse inconveniences might ensue. It is said, there are abuses in government, the reformation of which would do more harm than the very abuse itself. This was the opinion of the ministers, and of the King himself; but it was not mine, having always thought that no good can come from evil. We had often little debates about government, for Lewis XV. as I have said in the beginning of these Memoirs, has a great deal of wit and good-sense, and especially a very ready penetration. "You, Madam, would he say "to me, look on the political commu-"nity as a private family, whereas it is "to be considered as an universal society, "consisting of different bodies, the con-"junction of which constitutes the state. "Amidst this immensity of objects, con-

ducted

" ducted by men of oppoſite views and
" intereſts; the ſecurity and well-being
" of the ſtate is upheld by thoſe very
" things which ſeem to undermine it.
" In a private family, there is only one
" ſingle plan of adminiſtration, the abuſes
" are few, eaſily animadverted on, and
" the reformation of them reſtores that
" unity of government which is the per-
" fection of ſuch a ſociety: but in the
" general community, good is to be con-
" tinually ballanced by evil, and in this
" equi poize lies the political order of the
" ſtate."

" If ſo, Sir, ſaid I to him, how is it
" that thoſe ſtates, where the moſt abuſes
" are reformed, are the beſt governed.
" The Muſcovites, of all the European
" nations, were the leaſt civilized, and
" conſequently the moſt unhappy, till
" Peter the Great appeared, who vigor-
" ouſly ſuppreſſing abuſes of all kinds,

" from his reformation has ſprung a
" powerful nation, a rich and happy
" people.

" Brandenburgh had neither force nor
" power; the art of war was ſcarce known
" there; it lay in obſcurity; it was of no
" account among the ſtates of Europe;
" and this contemptible condition was,
" in a great meaſure, owing to many
" abuſes which its ſovereigns either could
" not or would not reform. But in our
" times, one of its ſovereigns has ſuppreſ-
" ſed abuſes, introduced political order
" and military diſcipline; and this re-
" formation has enabled him to act a ca-
" pital part on the theatre of Europe."

" England is ſaid once to have been no-
" thing, till the parliament took in hand to
" form its power. It has ſince been continu-
" ally retouching the political ſyſtem,
" and correcting a number of abuſes,
" which, for ſeveral centuries, hindered

" this

" this ſtate from emerging into power
" and reputation; and now its *bills* ſhew
" the continued ſyſtem of its great-
" neſs.

" France, Sir, is a home inſtance of
" this. Lewis XIII. a weak Prince, and
" wholly governed by his miniſters, con-
" cerned not himſelf about abuſes; he
" left the ſtate as he found it, full of miſ-
" management and diſorder. Your
" great grand-father changed the whole,
" and by the reformation he brought
" about in all the branches of govern-
" ment, imparted, as it were, a new
" genius to his people.

" France, during the firſt years of
" Lewis XIV. roſe to a pitch of glory
" and grandeur beyond any thing ever
" ſeen in the Roman empire."

Here the King ſmiled, and very obligingly ſaid to me, " I own, Madam, I did

" not think you had been ſo well ac-
" quainted with theſe points; it gives
" me infinite pleaſure that, beſides the
" graces of wit and vivacity, you are poſ-
" ſeſſed of that knowledge which enlarges
" and revives the judgment. The world
" is often deceived in thoſe matters, con-
" tinued the King, and the greatneſs of
" Princes is almoſt ever confounded with
" the happineſs of the people. A So-
" vereign may make reformations in his
" kingdom, and his ſubjects be never the
" better for them; he is the only gainer
" by the change.

" Peter I. made conſiderable altera-
" tions in Muſcovy, but did not thereby
" make the Ruſſians a whit the happier.
" The revolution was felt only by the
" ſtate. The Monarch became great
" and powerful, but the people ſtill con-
" tinued little and mean; for to have
" brought them from the abject ſtate in
" which

" which they then were, required the " ſuppreſſion of a multitude of civil " abuſes and vices, which continued after " his time, and ſtill ſubſiſt. The pre- " ſent Muſcovites are ſordid ſlaves, with " all the ignorance and ſuperſtition of " their fore-fathers, who lived before the " reign of that great reformer Peter. " And if the empire, once without a " ſoldier, has now a numerous army; " yet this adventitious power depends " on the chance of a battle or two.

" Pruſſia, with all the reformations " made there, does not find itſelf more " happy. The people, amidſt their Mo- " narch's victories, groan under the " weight of the military burden laid on " them; and its power depends on the " exiſtence of one ſingle man. When " Frederick comes to die, its political " ſtate dies with him.

" It is a queſtion, continued the King, " much debated, whether the Engliſh

" are more powerful, and more happy,
" than they were before thoſe volumes
" of reforming *bills* were in being: this
" is a point the nation itſelf is not agreed
" on. There is a party in England which
" affirms that the government is intirely
" ruined, and the political ſtate indebted
" beyond what it is able to pay; and
" that it cannot anſwer its neceſſities.
" Yet I am inclined to think that Eng-
" land is increaſed in ſtrength; but this is
" rather owing to the inadvertency of
" other powers, than to any reformations
" of its own, which would have profited
" very little, had its neighbours followed
" its example.

" As to the inſtance of our own coun-
" try, I have wiſhed that France had
" been in the ſame ſituation, at my ac-
" ceſſion to the throne, that Lewis XIII.
" left it in. His ſucceſſor, what with re-
" formations, ſplendor, and glory, re-
" duced

" duced it ſo low, that it will be ages be-
" fore it is thoroughly recovered."

Our political diſcuſſions were always mixed with politeneſs and compliments; never did a word come from Lewis XV's mouth which had any thing of aſperity in it, &c.

England ſtill kept a watchful eye on the French navy; and, on our ſide, the increaſe of it was the miniſtry's chief object. All M. Rouille's demands of money were immediately anſwered, and he loſt no time: ſhips were daily launched.

France and England were, indeed, at peace; but acted with the ſame miſtruſt as if at open war; the public expences roſe high; yet the French, who are continually complaining, did not in the leaſt murmur, ſo convinced was every one of the abſolute neceſſity of having a navy capable of facing that of Great Britain.

In the mean time, all the miniſters continued declaring themſelves againſt me; the very perſons who, through my intereſt with his Majeſty, had been promoted to the object of their wiſhes, were the moſt forward in promoting my diſgrace. Since my living at Verſailles, I have often lamented this flagitiouſneſs, which is, as it were, innate in the human mind. No ſooner is a man inveſted with honour and power, than he ſtudies to cut off the hand which raiſed him. It is not my intention to enter into all the arts and practices of my enemies; there would be no end of the alluſions, tales, ſtories, and ſongs, induſtriouſly diſſeminated over the kingdom to expoſe me. However, I was always exactly informed of what was ſaid about me; but of ſome of my revilers I took no notice; others I threatened to complain of to the King. All, however, continued

their

their abuſes: I was a thouſand times for leaving the court, had I not apprehended that the King being now habituated to ſee me daily, it might ſhorten his valuable life.

The Count de Argenſon, ſecretary at war, did not love me, ſaying, "That I gave too many military poſts; that he had not ſo much as a lieutenancy of foot at his diſpoſal." Now this accuſation was ſo far from being true, that I never recommended any perſon to his Majeſty, without previouſly conſulting that Miniſter. It was purely my favour which rankled him; he wanted to ſet the King againſt me, that he might ingroſs the whole royal favour to himſelf.

Peace being the ſeaſon for public foundations, a plan of a military ſchool, for inſtructing the French nobility in the art of war, was laid before his Majeſty in the year 1751.

The kingdom, ſaid the author, *was full of gentlemen who, unable, conveniently, to put themſelves under maſters, led an inactive life in the country, inſtead of ſpending it in the ſervice of the ſtate.*

In this ſchool five hundred gentlemen were to be boarded and educated: the King was pleaſed to ſhew me the plan, and aſked my thoughts on it.

"Sir, ſaid I, nothing can be better; "I could only wiſh it more comprehen- "ſive. This ſchool will not furniſh of- "ficers enough for France, which is ſo "frequently at war. I have heard Mar- "ſhal Saxe ſay, That in an army of "two hundred and fifty thouſand men, "there was ſeldom leſs than twenty "thouſand officers; ſo that only one for- "tieth of that number can be had from "the military-ſchool, which to me ap- "pears no ſmall defect in a foundation, "of itſelf, ſo excellent."

A cour-

A courtier, on reading the plan for this ſchool, jocularly ſaid, *This martial convent will afford very good military monks.*

The great objection made againſt it, by ſome diſcreet perſons, was the exorbitant expence of it, at a time when every reſource of the ſtate had been drained to defray the extraordinary demands of the war. The expence, indeed, was not to be furniſhed from the royal treaſury; but from whatever fund ſums are taken on ſuch occaſions, they are ſtill burthenſome, as tending to keep the people poor.

It was likewiſe ſaid, that France ſtood more in need of a naval than a military-ſchool; that the King might find a hundred land-officers in his dominions, for one ſea-officer; that the French gentry was naturally fond of ſignalizing itſelf in armies, and had as great an averſion

to fleets; but the plan had been resolved on.

The powers of Europe were at peace, when religious disputes, breaking out, disturbed France in its political and domestic quiet.

Two parties, who, for forty years past, had been contending for the superiority, now returned to the charge. Being quite ignorant of the subject of their quarrels, I had it explained to me. Should ever these Memoirs be made public, the reader will be so kind as to excuse my tiring him with the following detail. Never had this evil found a place in these annals, had it not concerned the King; but his interesting himself in this dispute, and greatly so, is alone a sufficient motive for my giving some account of it.

A native of Spain, named Molina, in the fullness of his knowledge, took it into his head to decide, and vindicate, how God

God acts on mortals, and in what manner mortals withſtand God. The Popes, who know every thing, and pronounce ſentence on every thing, had, till then, been totally unacquainted with the mechaniſm of the metaphyſical intercourſe between the Creator and creature; and, for their better information, Molina invented many barbarous words, or ſcholaſtic terms, with innumerable diſtinctions and diviſions.

To proceed in this diſpute with ſome order, and wrangle theologically, he diſtinguiſhed between *preventive* and *co-operating grace:* one of theſe graces could do any thing, and the other little or nothing; but this not being ſufficient for underſtanding what he himſelf did not underſtand, he farther invented the *mediate knowledge* and *congruiſm*.

According to him, God held a council of ſtate in Heaven, before which all men were ſummoned and interrogated, how they

they will act after receiving his grace; and, according to the free use which he saw they were to make of it, he decreed within himself, either to admit them into Paradise, or cast them down into hell.

Unluckily for the Christian world, this Molina was a Jesuit; an order little beloved by the others: the Dominicans, especially, raised an outcry against his congruism.

These things being transacted in Spain, the Inquisition took cognizance of the altercation; and had they burned Molina, and a few Dominicans, there would have been an end of the matter, and, for once, this tribunal had done a good piece of service to Christendom. *Concomitant concurrence* and *co-operating grace* had a trial at Rome; but the more the parties disputed, the less understood they one another. A monk offered his mediation: but this mediator was less intelligible than the controversists.

The

The difficulty was not ſo much the putting an end to the diſpute, as to know what the diſpute was about. Neither party underſtood themſelves or the other, and, in the mean time, with their free-will, mediate knowledge, complement of active virtue, &c. they ran themſelves more and more into darkneſs.

The bickerings, at length, ceaſed for want of diſputants, there being times when monks ſacrifice every thing to indolence. All remained quiet, till one Cornelius Janſenius renewed the conteſt; yet, inſtead of inventing any thing, he only diſputed behind a huge book, the author of which was named Baius. The Jeſuits ſollicited the Pope to condemn Cornelius, and by the dexterity of their agents at Rome, carried their point there; but in other parts of Europe, it went againſt them. The univerſities, the parliaments, and chiefly the women, profound

found judges of ſuch things, ſided with Janſenius.

A paper war commenced with great acrimony; congruiſm, by dint of bulky volumes, worſted predeſtination in ſome pitched battles: yet the war went on undecided; both parties being now grown powerful, and fighting merely for the honour of victory.

Till then, only private perſons had appeared in the field; but now univerſities declaring themſelves, the action became general. No accommodation was ſo much as talked of, there being no body, or ſociety, in the ſtate, of a power ſufficient to compel the two parties to accept of its mediation.

In the mean time, the Moliniſt biſhops drew up a condemnation of Janſenius's five articles, though, in the opinion of his party, they were no more than what St. Auguſtine himſelf had advanced. Several communities of men ſigned the con-

condemnation; but the nuns, who have nothing to do, and eagerly catch at every opportunity which may bring them into the world again, proteſted againſt ſubſcribing; and thoſe of Port Royal diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their firmneſs, or obſtinacy.

I do not wonder that they refuſed ſubſcribing, but am ſurpriſed that their ſubſcription ſhould have been required; it was ſhewing them a regard, on this affair, which ought not to have been ſhewn them: on their pertinacious refuſal, they were forcibly removed, and diſperſed into other convents; whereas the real puniſhment would have been to have kept them always in the ſame ſpot.

The Popes, likewiſe, from time to time, iſſued new formularies, which gave an air of greater moment to the quarrel; but they had done much better to have left it to itſelf, and then Molina and Janſenius would ſoon have ſunk into oblivion;

vion; but the court of Rome is ever for being abſolute.

In the midſt of this war, however, a truce was brought about. Clement IX. a man of good ſenſe and prudence, drew up a ſet of articles of capitulation, had them ſigned by the Janſeniſts, and thus brought about a peace; but, unhappily, when religion is in the caſe, war ſoon kindles again.

A father of the oratory, named Queſnel, is ſaid, this time, to have been the inſtrument of diſcord. He wrote a book which, after being applauded throughout all Europe, France cenſured. It was not very eaſy to point out wherein this book was to be found fault with; but religious cabals were then in faſhion. The Moliniſt party, in the mean time, carried it with a high hand, having the King's ear.

The confeſſor to Lewis XIV. was a Jeſuit, who formed parties both at court and

and in town, againſt the Janſeniſts, who keenly revenged themſelves with their pens; thus, though there was a prevailing party, the war ſtill continued.

Hitherto no manifeſtos had paſſed between the Moliniſts and the Janſeniſts, both parties, in the heat of their zeal, having taken up arms without any declaration of war. Lewis XIV. procured from Rome a bull, whereby a fire was kindled, which has not ſince been quenched. The Pope, the biſhops, the King, the religious orders, in ſhort, people of all ranks gradually engaged in the quarrel, to the great diſturbance of the nation and families; all plotting and caballing one againſt the other.

The principal object of public hatred was father Le Tellier, who over-ruled the King's conſcience: this was a hot and ambitious man, who wanted to revenge ſome perſonal offences given him by the Janſeniſts, and, in purſuit of his drift, alarmed

alarmed both the King's conſcience and the kingdom.

Lewis XIV. towards the decline of his life, was grown weak and irreſolute, and often harraſſed with terrible fears of the devil. The hard-hearted Jeſuit had poſſeſſed him with a perſuaſion, that the affair of the Moliniſts was the cauſe of God. His reſentment chiefly aimed at the cardinal de Noailles, and he had the confidence to move his penitent to depoſe him judicially. The death of this Prince brought on a ſuſpenſion of this buſtle, which was called the conſtitution.

The Duke of Orleans, who loved neither popes nor biſhops, and deſpiſed bulls, in order to rid himſelf both of the Moliniſts and Janſeniſts, appointed commiſſioners for hearing their broils, ſeparately from the other affairs of the monarchy; with an intent to deprive them of their public importance: but the

the wiſdom of this precaution was fruſtrated; thoſe people ſtill were for figuring in the ſtate. They appealed to a national council, which was nothing leſs than throwing off the yoke of the adminiſtration, to erect another independent of it. The regent baniſhed and exiled both biſhops and prieſts; but this remedy only inflamed the diſeaſe, hardening both parties in their obſtinacy. The Janſeniſts and Moliniſts then formed themſelves into two factions, under the names of *acceptants* and *recuſants*. The Acceptants called the Recuſants heretics, and the Recuſants gave the appellation of ſchiſmatics to the Acceptants.

The frenzy for efficacious grace was burſting out with greater violence than ever, when the Miſſiſippi ſcheme was ſet on foot; then avarice did what neither the Pope nor King could: all the people's thoughts now ran only on getting

getting money. The names of Janſeniſts and Moliniſts were almoſt forgotten, though to this nothing perhaps contributed more than the contempt and ridicule which the Duke of Orleans put on this controverſy, calling it a trifle; whereas Lewis XIV. had been made to lay it to heart, as an affair of the greateſt concern.

The ſubſequent wars under Lewis XV. made the Janſeniſts and Moliniſts to be ſtill farther forgotten, though not without ſome occaſional ſkirmiſhes on predeſtination; but as there was no general action, they were not much heeded.

The diſpute, in the mean time, was not totally extinguiſhed, or rather it was a fire lurking under embers. In 1750, the Moliniſts renewed hoſtilities, refuſing the Sacraments to ſick perſons of the contrary party, under pretence of their not having confeſſional certificates.

The parliament intervened, and puniſhed the delinquents; by which the two parties regained the conſideration, which they had loſt by the Duke of Orleans's meaſures. This rupture gave riſe to a new diſcuſſion, whether the parliament could intermeddle with this affair, or had any right to baniſh, or inflict puniſhments on prieſts, who, in refuſing to adminiſter the ſacraments, only conformed to the injunctions of their biſhops.

The Janſeniſts ſaid that the civil magiſtrate has a power legally ſuperior even to that of the church, the order of a ſtate depending on ſuch ſubordination; and they farther added, that the adminiſtration of the Sacraments is the capital branch of the polity exerciſed by the civil magiſtrate.

The anſwer of the Moliniſts was, that in ſpirituals they acknowledged no other ſuperiority than that of the Pope and his biſhops:

biſhops; that civil affairs were the parliament's province, and all it ought to concern itſelf in; but that the kingdom of heaven had been committed to paſtors, and not lawyers.

The ſubjects, in the mean time, died without the ſacraments; the prieſts indeed were puniſhed, yet the evil remained, and this affair gave the King much uneaſineſs: the Bourbons indeed have always laid to heart religious diſturbances: the court gave itſelf more concern about theſe confeſſional certificates, than ever it had ſhewn in the moſt important political tranſactions. It often became neceſſary to put a violence on prieſts, and make uſe of ſoldiers to compel them to adminiſter. Never, from the birth of Chriſt, had ſuch a thing been ſeen, as having recourſe to the bayonet for the adminiſtration of the moſt ſacred myſtery. It was indeed a horrid ſcandal; but to ſee ſubjects,

jects, at the point of death, begging for the communion, and refuſed, was ſomething ſtill more ſhocking.

The King, one day, ſaid to me, "Theſe people give me a great deal of "uneaſineſs; if they go on, I ſhall be "obliged to turn all the prieſts out of "their livings, and have their functions "performed by Capuchin-friars, who are "intirely as I would have them, &c." *

The court's attention now came to be taken up with an affair of ſtill greater importance than the conſtitution itſelf; the election of a King of the Romans. The houſe of Auſtria, fond of its greatneſs, is always providing for the future ſecurity of it. As Charles VI. had engaged the Sovereigns of Europe to make themſelves the inſtruments of his ambition, even after his deceaſe; Maria Thereſa, in her life-time, took meaſures

* 1751.

for fixing the Imperial throne in her family.

It was on a Prince who might be looked on as a Lorrainer, that ſhe was conferring the title of preſumptive heir; for Charles VI. dying without male-iſſue, the houſe of Auſtria had ended in him. The circles of the empire accounted this meaſure a greater act of deſpotiſm than that of the late emperor; as hereby the empire, from an elective conſtitution, not only became hereditary, but even eſcheated to a foreign family: loud complaints were made, and that was all. It is now about a century, that the petty princes in Germany have not been able to ſhew their reſentment againſt the houſe of Auſtria, any farther than by complaints and murmurs.

Maria Thereſa, knowing how far her forces were ſuperior to any which the Northern Princes could oppoſe to her deſigns,

ſigns, communicated her plan to the other courts of Europe, and to France one of the firſt. The King ſhewed me the Auſtrian ambaſſador's reaſons, digeſted into writing by M. de Puiſieux, after a conference with that miniſter. The artful turn given to them by ambition, makes them worthy of being preſerved.

"The calamities ſtill recent, ſaid that "Ambaſſador, which the vacancy of the "Imperial throne, on the demiſe of "Charles VI. brought on Europe, ſhould "move Chriſtian Princes to prevent the "like. The Emperor now reigning is "in full health, and it may be preſumed, "that God will grant him length of days: "but ſhould one of thoſe many acci- "dents to which human nature is liable, "diſappoint the public hopes, and "ſhorten his valuable life, Chriſtendom "would be plunged in the ſame abyſſes, "as on the deceaſe of the laſt Emperor.

" It is therefore the concern of all the " European powers to prevent a war, " that ſcourge which throws every thing " into confuſion, lays waſte whole na- " tions, and thins mankind. The ca- " lamities cauſed by the late vacancy of " the empire are not likely to be brought " to a ſpeedy end, and what will it be " ſhould new diſturbances be accumu- " lated on the former?

" Too many precautions cannot be " taken againſt evils, which, when once " happened, cannot be averted, or the " iſſue of them determined.

" By the election of a King of the Ro- " mans, the views of Princes who may " have formed deſigns, are prevented; " and the coronation once over, will " ſuppreſs all cabals and intrigues about " being head of the empire. When a " ſceptre is vacant, a great ſtir is made " after it; but when once poſſeſſed, it is " no longer thought of.

" Arch-

" Archduke Joſeph, indeed, ſhould the " Emperor die, is not of age to govern " his dominions; but the evils of mino- " rity cannot be compared to thoſe which " the want of a head to the empire would " occaſion.

" Not that the Queen of Hungary is " in the leaſt apprehenſive of her heirs " being deprived of a throne, the legal " appenage of her family; her leading " motive in this ſettlement is to prevent " the needleſs effuſion of blood.

" On the death of Charles VI. it was " ſeen that all Europe cannot make an " Emperor. The Elector of Bavaria, " after being placed on that throne by " foreign armies, was always in a totter- " ing condition; ſo that had not death de- " prived him of the crown, he would " have been obliged to reſign it, &c."

I have obſerved that ambaſſadors, in caſes of perſonal intereſt, generally overlook the regard due to Princes by the law

of nations. Here the Vienna minister would have France subvert the very foundations of the Imperial constitution, and make that crown hereditary, which had always been elective. He surely forgot that the house of Bourbon, as I have been told, had, at the treaty of Westphalia, made itself a guarantee of the liberties and privileges of the empire. His court seemed not to recollect that the election of a King of the Romans depended on the consent of the electors, in a diet held expressly for such election.

The King, on reading this Memoir, asked M. de Puisieux what he thought of the business. *Sir*, answered the Minister, *you must consent to every thing; it is no longer worth France's while to meddle with the affairs of Germany; at present the King of Prussia is able to keep up the balance in the North, and hinder the house of Austria from lording it over yours; so that all we*

have

have to do now, is to look on. The council, however, was of a different opinion; but it is not the firſt time that one man has been wiſer than an aſſembly.

The court of Vienna was likewiſe buſy in bringing the other courts of Europe to countenance this election. That of England repreſented to the Marquis de Mirepoix, that it was the intereſt of France to cloſe with the making a King of the Romans; doubtleſs, becauſe it was theirs. This court afterwards went farther, and George the Second affirmed, that the election of a King of the Romans did not depend on the Electoral college; that is, that the dignity of preſumptive heir to the empire might be conferred without any deliberation of the electors, which was making the Imperial crown abſolutely hereditary.

I remember all the memoirs of that time agree in the Archduke's being very young, but they all likewiſe added, that

an Emperor under age was better than a vacancy of the throne, which amounts to an approbation of a regular ſucceſſion.

A politician of our court, with whom I was talking of this election, told me, that there was an article in the treaty of Weſtphalia, which formally ſettled this affair. It is there expreſsly ſaid, *That no election of a King of the Romans ſhall be entered on, unleſs the reigning emperor be cut of the empire, and with an intent to be abſent a long time, or for ever; or that age ſhould render him incapable of government; or there ſhould manifeſtly appear ſome great neceſſity on which the ſafety of the empire depended.* But treaties are never followed, and no more was ſaid of this, than if it had never exiſted.

The King of Pruſſia alone ſtood up in defence of the Electoral-college; but he had his reaſons for this ſpecious conduct. The election of a King of the Romans

ſecured

ſecured the empire to the houſe of Auſtria; and it has been believed by many, that he himſelf looked that way. There is indeed no ambition, of which a Prince, ſo powerful in war as to ſubdue ſeveral nations, is not ſuſceptible.

I return to Verſailles, from whence the affair of the King of the Romans has carried me too far. Lewis XV. as I have ſaid elſewhere, was now a little relieved from the load of buſineſs impoſed on him by the war; peace allowed him a leiſure, which was the very felicity of my life. Amidſt the confuſion of ſieges and battles, he had no ſettled reſidence. Flanders had ſeveral times deprived me of him; but the treaty of peace intirely reſtored him to me, and his confidence in me daily increaſed; ſo that he even imparted to me his uneaſineſs, for kings have their troubles both as men and as Princes.

Lewis XV. would often lament, that he had no friends, and had a thouſand times wiſhed to have been a private perſon, for the ſake of cordial friendſhip and ſympathy, to the effects of which Kings are always ſtrangers.

"No ſooner have I diſtinguiſhed a "ſubject by ſome conſiderable poſt, but "a hundred others, jealous of the fa- "vour, grow out of humour with me; "and, at the ſame time, I do not get the "love of him on whom I have conferred "the benefit; he complains that I have "not done enough for him, and they, "for my having done nothing for them. "All love favour, and care little for the "King. I ſee about me only ſordid "ſouls, ſlaves to pride and oſtentation, "acting only from intereſt; ſo that were "it not for the many favours emaning "from the throne, they would not move "a finger. Another, and rather worſe,

in-

" inconveniency annexed to the crown, is
" the impoſſibility for kings to diſtin-
" guiſh honeſt men from thoſe of a dif-
" ferent caſt. They are ſo like each
" other, as to be generally miſtaken; for
" at court vice and virtue appear in the
" ſame colours. The bulk of thoſe about
" me, I ſtrongly ſuſpect to be void of
" any one generous principle; but when
" I am for ſifting them, my rank will not
" allow of the proper meaſures. Thus
" they remain impenetrable to me, yet I
" muſt employ them in the ſervice of
" the ſtate; and hence ariſe thoſe public
" misfortunes, for which I am anſwerable
" both to the preſent time and to poſ-
" terity.

" When ſome important choice is to
" be made, and I have pitched on the
" perſon, all France ſeems to lay their
" heads together to deceive me. His
" talents, his merit and virtue, are cried

" up to me; not one honeſt man do I
" meet with in the kingdom to mention
" a word of any fault of his; they are
" afraid of incurring the diſpleaſure of
" him whom I have ſo recently diſtin-
" guiſhed by my favour; and to this
" mean ſpirited fear they ſacrifice both
" me and the ſtate.

" When, on the other hand, I with-
" draw my confidence from a miniſter,
" or ſome other place-man, then I am
" told that he is deficient in every poli-
" tical quality: thoſe very perſons who
" could never ſay enough in his praiſe,
" now draw him in the moſt contemptible
" colours; all his faults and errors, and
" ſiniſter practices, are laid open to me
" in full detail. The terrible accounts
" given of him from all hands ſet me
" againſt him, ſo that I cannot bring my-
" ſelf to employ him, even though, by
" the reflections on his paſt conduct and
" diſ-

" diſgrace, he ſhould afterwards become " thoroughly qualified for a public ſta- " tion.

" A patriot King is the moſt unhappy " mortal under the ſun; he has his coun- " try's happineſs at heart, and is beſet " by people who croſs his good inten- " tions. The miniſters are the firſt in " ruining a ſtate, to ſave themſelves the " labour of reforming abuſes: to leave " things as they are, is ſooneſt done; in " the mean time, the evils continue, and " when a Monarch, tender of the welfare " of his ſubjects, would remedy them, " he meets unſurmountable impediments; " for the habit of a long and bad admi- " ſtration at length comes to ſuperſede " the laws and uſages, &c. &c."

Another time Lewis XV. was pleaſ- ed to open himſelf to me on the ſame ſubject: " A great misfortune to a King " is, that miniſters generally conceal the

" true

" true ſtate of things from them. So-
" vereigns are always made acquainted
" with the calamities of their dominions
" the laſt; and this, leſt ſuch informa-
" tion ſhould put them on taking the
" reins of government into their own
" hands; and every one makes it his
" ſtudy to keep them in the dark. The
" immenſe variety of concerns in a large
" monarchy, obliges him to truſt to mi-
" niſters, and theſe miniſters, for the
" greater part, play falſe with him. On
" the laſt war, I conſulted thoſe who
" were at the head of the adminiſtration,
" whether the advantages of victories
" would balance the inevitable misfor-
" tunes of battles: one and all aſſured
" me, that by no other way could the
" kingdom be retrieved, than by the
" glory of my arms; and that the luſtre
" and advantages derived from the vic-
" tories, would be the more laſting and
" ſolid,

" ſolid, as due only to the nation's own " ſtrength.

" At the peace, I found they had de- " ceived me; my ſubjects are in the " utmoſt diſtreſs, and all owing to the " war; ſo that to recover themſelves muſt " be the work of years; and ſhould freſh " diſturbances happen, it will never be " done, &c. &c."

I likewiſe had my complaints. " Sir, " ſaid I to the King, my grievances, tho' " of a different nature from yours, are " not leſs painful. The rancour of all " France is pointed at me. The royal " family inveighs againſt me; his royal " Highneſs the Dauphin takes all op- " portunities of affronting me: your " miniſters look on me as the fatal rock " on which all their deſigns go to wreck. " The chief families of the kingdom " treat me with contempt; and all this " becauſe your Majeſty has thought " me worthy of your eſteem.

"Many carry their malevolence ſo far, "as to impute the diſorders of the "finances to me, as if the adminiſtration "of affairs was lodged in my hands. I "am accuſed of having all the money in "the kingdom; I am charged with the "nation's debts, as if I myſelf had con-"tracted them. On any miniſter's fail-"ing in his duty, the blame is immediate-"ly laid on me. I am exclaimed againſt "for his being preferred, and his diſ-"grace is imputed as a crime to me.

"It is I who bear the blame of all po-"litical misfortunes; and if I have not "been directly accuſed of having de-"clared war againſt your enemies, it has "been ſaid, that I might have prevented "thoſe murderous ſieges and battles, as "if the fate of Europe was at my beck, "and I could model foreign courts.

"I have been reproached with the "overſights of your generals; not a

"battle

" battle has been loſt, not a ſiege has
" been raiſed, but it is all owing to me.
" So much as their perſonal variances
" and quarrels are laid at my door.

" The public diſtreſſes, though the
" conſequence of a bad adminiſtration,
" and the misfortunes of the times, have
" been attributed to me, as if my doing.
" The populace has hiſſed me, and was
" often for ſtopping my coach, and has
" been near coming to thoſe extremities
" againſt me, with which they only are
" treated whoſe notorious malverſation
" has manifeſtly ruined a people.

" Yet, Sire, what gives me moſt pain,
" is the ingratitude of thoſe who have
" felt the effects of my favour. I have
" often ſollicited your Majeſty for per-
" ſons, who were no ſooner out of the
" meanneſs and obſcurity from whence I
" drew them, than they forgot the kind
" hand by which they had been raiſed. I can

" reckon,

" reckon, hitherto, about three thouſand
" perſons who owe their ſubſiſtence to
" me. It is through my care that they
" have been brought into new ſtations,
" where they loſt ſight of me before they
" were well warm in their places.

" Of ſuch a great number, not one
" have I found with any due ſenſe of
" gratitude: nay, the greater the prefer-
" ment, the leſs their acknowledgment;
" ſome have even buſily caballed againſt
" me: thoſe whom I thought moſt my
" friends, and whom the important ſer-
" vices I had done them ſhould have
" made ſuch, have been the firſt in de-
" ceiving and injuring me. I have diſ-
" covered treacheries at which I ſhudder-
" ed; ſo that ſince my living at court, I
" am grown ſick of mankind. I ſhould
" have died a thouſand times under the
" anguiſh which ſuch injurious treat-
" ment has cauſed me, had not the
" kind-

" kindneſs with which your Majeſty " honours me reconciled me to life, " &c."

* The death of the Prince of Wales, eldeſt ſon to George II. and as ſuch, preſumptive heir to the crown of England, made ſome impreſſion at Verſailles: this Prince is ſaid not to have been remarkable for thoſe eminent qualities with whoſe brilliancy the world is ſo much taken: but they who knew him perſonally, perceived in him the more ſolid virtues: compaſſion, goodneſs, ſenſibility, tenderneſs, candour, affability, a readineſs to oblige, and delight in doing good; theſe were his leading diſpoſitions: a Prince, in a word, qualified to make a people happy. He had married a German Princeſs, intirely deſerving to aſcend the throne with him. I have often pitied this Lady's fate, to loſe an affec-

* 1751.

tionate

tionate husband and a powerful crown at once, is one of those events which elevated souls alone can bear with firmness. His death occasioned a revolution in political affairs. France had great hopes of things going better, when that Prince should have come to the throne: there was no cordial harmony between him and his father King George. The son often crossed the father's measures, so that they seldom saw, and seldomer spoke to each other. From this disposition it was hoped, that a Prince, who so much disapproved the present system, would be less inveterate against the house of Bourbon than his predecessors had been. It was imagined that his accession would prove a happy turn for France, when, perhaps, it might have only made matters worse. The sons of Kings, at their entrance on regality, leave their ideas as Princes at the foot of the throne, and take up those of Kings.

George

George II. is ſaid not to have ſhewn any great concern at the death of his ſon, appearing as uſual in the drawing-room, and, within a few days, giving audience to Ambaſſadors: in this there might be a little affectation, it being the known character of that Prince to ſhew himſelf firm and unſhaken, in the midſt of the moſt unfortunate events. The reſt of the royal family were in the deepeſt affliction: he was alſo greatly lamented by his houſhold; and I am told, that his death is ſtill matter of concern to many.

The death of this Prince likewiſe cauſed a national uneaſineſs, his children being very young, and King George advanced in years, which might be productive of the diſorders almoſt inevitable under a minority. In order to prevent them, the Princeſs Dowager of Wales was nominated guardian to the King's ſucceſſor, and regent of the kingdom, till

till her ſon ſhould be of age; but the iſſue of the deliberation was, that this Lady, who had come into England to wear the crown, ſhould be neither Queen nor Regent.

The French clergy's affair, though thought to be over, was ſtill going on. The biſhops and wealthy incumbents, amidſt the privacy of their dwellings, to which they had been ordered, diſturbed the ſtate; though ardently deſirous of returning to Paris, they were for coming at this privilege as cheap as they could, haggling a long time with the King, who, however, would make no abatement. They inſiſted on their immunities, they pleaded their ſolemn promiſe to the Pope to maintain their rights. This diſpute irritated the court, and not a little ſoured the King. At this juncture, a biſhop took it into his head to come and expoſtulate with me about the clergy's pre-

prerogatives. This certainly was not taking the right time, for as this affair gave ſo much diſpleaſure to his Majeſty, it could not be very pleaſing to me. The Prelate made a long-winded harangue, in proof that the church was not to diſſeize itſelf of its wealth. He recurred as far back as St. Peter, and through an enumeration of thoſe bulls, by which the church is ordered to keep what it has, came down to our times. "My Lord, "ſaid I interrupting him, your preroga- "tives are what I know nothing of, but "I know that your chief duty, like that "of other ſubjects, is to obey the King. "Say what you will of your bulls and im- "munities; every body of men declining "to conform to its Sovereign's orders, is "guilty of rebellion, and deſerves the "puniſhment of high treaſon."

A great many bad books came out againſt the clergy, in vindication of the King's

King's cauſe. Among the ſeveral writers who, on theſe occaſions, take different parts, one wrote a pamphlet with the title of *An Impartial Inquiry into the Immunities of the Clergy*. This work was full of very judicious reflections, beſides a nervous elegancy of ſtile: it was indeed the only one on the ſubject which deſerves reading.

After all, it became neceſſary that the plan which had been propoſed, and to which I myſelf had adviſed the King, ſhould take place. This was to draw up a ſtate of the value of every churchman's preferments, that each might be taxed in proportion to his real income; and accordingly the court ordered the intendants of the provinces to oblige all the beneficed clergy to deliver in an account of the nature of their ſeveral revenues. There was indeed a very hard clauſe, in caſe of a refuſal; the intendants being

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expreſsly enjoined to ſeize on the ſeveral revenues in the King's name, and leave the beneficiaries only an alimentary penſion. This was inſuring their compliance; for being uſed to ſuperfluity, they could but very indifferently ſhift with no more than was neceſſary.

The clergy of France had already begun to lower their voice, when the parliament of Paris raiſed theirs. I could find in my heart to ſay, that in France the ſtate is ever out of order; no ſooner has the Sovereign repaired ſome weak part of his prerogative, than another appears to be running to ruin.

The parliament, inſtead of conforming to his pleaſure, according to their uſual way, ſent a deputation with remonſtrances. Theſe ſpeeches ſet out with great proteſtations of reſpect and ſubmiſſion, but are ſeldom without ſome term which ſavours of a republican

ſpirit, tending to independency; and not ſeldom they ſtrike at the prerogative of the crown.

The King, though naturally irreſolute, had his intervals of firmneſs, in which he was immoveable. He gave the deputies to underſtand, that he would have his edicts enrolled that very day, under penalty of diſobedience and immediate puniſhment.

The parliament were ſitting when the deputies returned to Paris; being forbid to deliberate, they regiſtered the edicts. After this act of duty, which they ſtiled deference, a ſecond deputation was diſpatched to Verſailles. Theſe gentlemen began their harangue in this manner: *Your Majeſty has commanded, and your parliament has obeyed.*

A courtier ſaid, that there they ought to have ſtopped, all the remainder

mainder of their long ſpeech being quite uſeleſs and ſuperfluous.

The King was pleaſed, in the evening, to mention this affair to me; and his having got the better of the parliament, made him much gayer than uſual; but this extraordinary chearfulneſs raiſed in me ſome miſgivings. To me, a body whoſe temporary ſubmiſſion excited in its maſter ſuch a lively joy, appeared dangerous.

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